

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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Seeking a record attendance at all sessions of the League's annual Conference at San Antonio will be this committee composed of (from left) Mrs. Jessie Benavides, Pan-American League; Sam Riklin, president, San Antonio Junior Chamber of Commerce; and Mrs. Josephine H. Henning, Daughters of the Republic, all seated. Standing—Mrs. A. J. Pape, Council of Catholic Women; Mrs. W. W. Jackson, City Federation of Women's Clubs; and Jack Tallent, executive assistant, city of San Antonio.

Best Conference in '52

(Continued from previous page)

Plans also are in the making for sight-seeing trips around the city for early conference arrivals Sunday afternoon which will precede the social event at La Villita.

In arousing local interest in the League's Conference, Mr. Thomas told civic leaders: "The Conference means a lot to the community and its citizens. The three-day meeting will provide an opportunity for all of us to learn how citizens in other areas work together to improve their governments."

Mrs. B. H. Passmore, vice president of the committee and president of the San Antonio League of Women Voters, echoed Mr. Thomas' remarks when she said: "San Antonians will obtain a better understanding of the League's

work and will profit by the experiences of citizens from other communities."

Civic organizations and luncheon clubs will be asked to cancel or postpone their own meetings during the three days of the Conference, so that club members will be able to attend the three scheduled luncheons. Each of the luncheons will be sponsored by one or more local organizations with a view of turning out a large attendance.

San Antonio's five universities and colleges also will be invited to share in the planning of the Conference and to participate in the sessions.

A regional committee embracing the entire southwest is being formed under the direction of Edward G. Conroy, executive vice president of San Antonio's Research and Planning Council, who is also serving as secretary of the local Conference committee.

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Editorial Comment

Taking the Curse Off Politics

THE bad reputation of politicians is no new thing but recent revelations of politico-criminal alliances, influence mongering and official dishonesty have intensified it. The Senate Subcommittee on Ethical Standards in Government, headed by Senator Paul Douglas, shows that much of the evil that creeps into government is admitted through the political door, while less publicized improvement in governmental ethics is due to increasing professionalization of the service and extension of the merit system.

For further improvement along the same lines the committee makes several suggestions, including greater use of voluntary codes of professional ethics. The value of such codes is evidenced by the famous code of the International City Managers' Association which has promoted higher standards, ethical as well as administrative, in manager communities and in many others as well. Other avenues to progress through extension and strengthening of the merit system are suggested by the former president of the New Jersey Civil Service Commission, Professor William Seal Carpenter, in the article on page 339 of this issue, based upon his recent book.

It is still true, however, that politics must clean its own house, which is simply another way of saying that the people must assume more responsibility for politics. There couldn't be a better time than the crucial presidential election year, 1952. Our moral leadership, to say nothing of our respect and confidence in our-

selves, will depend as much on how we conduct our politics during the next few months as on who are elected to the federal, state and local offices at stake next November.

Charles Edison, speaking at the National Conference on Government in Boston shortly after the 1948 election, asked why 43,000,000 eligible Americans failed to vote for president that year. He attributed their non-voting partly to disgust and confusion resulting from the political double standard and the tendency of political campaigners, including major candidates, to "double talking or mumble talking" intended to "hide rather than to convey meaning."

It is neither necessary nor statesmanlike for every candidate for public office to pretend that he has the final answer on every one of "the issues" or that he can predict just how he will act in every conceivable situation. Forthrightness and honesty with the voters require admission that some questions must have continuing study and must be dealt with as they come to a head in the light of the latest information. But it is dishonest, as well as frustrating to the voters, for people to run on platforms made of planks deliberately arranged to point in all directions at once.

No one has a right to campaign for any public office unless he is ready to assume, even at the risk of defeat, the responsibility to increase the political understanding of the electorate. If a campaigner does not feel some of the dedication of the

honest teacher, he has no business in politics. We need a code of political ethics to match codes of professional ethics. Two cardinal points in the code should be truth and fair play. Nothing is so discouraging to the amateur citizen politician than the old smear technique that has recently been showing alarming new potentialities.

The Douglas Committee raises the problem of money in politics. The availability of campaign funds may make or break a candidate or a party. From this fact arises the temptation to accept money which after election may speak louder than the public interest or the votes of unsuspecting citizens. The committee reviews without final recommendation the possibility of reducing the opportunity for tainted or selfish money by providing basic financing for campaigns out of the public treasury or from sources that would involve fairly wide public support.

One suggestion heard with increasing frequency is to permit individual taxpayers to deduct modest contributions to political campaigns for income tax purposes. Secretary of the Treasury Andrew Mellon was probably not entirely facetious when he testified that he regarded contributions to the Republican party in much the same category as contributions to the church. Since honest political campaigning is necessary to the public interest, the strict line drawn in the internal revenue act between non-political and political causes may be unrealistic and self-defeating.

No doubt corrupt practices acts

can be tightened up and laws can be enforced so as to induce fuller and more timely disclosure of the sources and amounts of campaign contributions. In the long run, however, the only effective way to counteract the effect of selfish money and other evil influences in politics is for more citizens to become active part-time politicians. Effective prohibition of undesirable political activity might simply create a sterile vacuum.

We need to break down the barriers against the widespread participation in politics that would drive the mere self-seeker out of business or show him to be the lonely character he actually is. Much ingenuity has been expended in trying to limit the political activities of private corporations and voluntary associations. Such ingenuity would be better spent in trying to free the employees of corporations, from president on down, and the members of other associations from self-imposed restrictions and from inhibitions created by professionally rigged election laws and party organizations.

There is no mystery about what determined citizens can do to make politics reasonably congenial, to make election procedures reasonably responsive, in short, to make democracy work. In many communities local campaigns have long been conducted on a high level because responsible citizens of all parties have banded together in nonpartisan efforts to clarify the political battleground, to eliminate legal and other booby traps and to enforce a decent code of political ethics. What is needed is the extension of these activities and methods.

States Try Reorganization

35 'little Hoover commissions' examine government to make recommendations to voters and legislators.

By FERREL HEADY*

IN AN unprecedented concentration of interest and effort, many of our states have been busily examining their administrative machinery and drawing up recommendations for administrative reorganization. No one can venture to say yet what the final results of all this study and all these proposals will be. The voters and state officials, legislative and executive, who must make the decisions are still in the midst of their deliberations. Enough of the reorganization reports are now publicly available, however, to show the general pattern as to what the "little Hoover commissions" in the states have found out and what they propose to do about it.

Official reorganization agencies have been created in 33 states and two territories. By the end of 1951, final or partial reports had been filed by study groups in 25 states and in Puerto Rico and Hawaii. In five states, the reorganization effort was authorized only during 1951 and proceedings were still at a preliminary stage. Agencies in three other states, although set up earlier, had not yet reported.¹

*Dr. Heady is associate professor of political science, as well as assistant director of the Institute of Public Administration, at the University of Michigan. He is author of *Administrative Procedure Legislation in the States* and other publications and articles in the governmental field.

¹The Council of State Governments has reported on current developments in state administrative reorganization in

Whatever their composition, assignment or method of operation, these reorganization bodies have been commonly referred to as "little Hoover commissions." This is misleading in that it hints at much more uniformity than actually exists, but it does appropriately recognize the fact that the federal Hoover Commission set an example which the states have followed. Emulation of the federal government's much publicized reorganization effort is only one reason, however, for the current state interest. This is a continuation of the whole state reorganization movement which goes back to early in the century. It also reflects a concern over the spectacular growth in the activities, cost and complexity of state governments in the short period since the end of World War II, and a desire to fashion the governmental structure to cope with these new demands upon it.

With this common background as to origins, the little Hoover commissions show also many common features in their makeup and working methods, some of which distinguish them from earlier state reorganization agencies. For instance, in only three states has the reorganization unit been set up by independent ac-

various of its publications. The most recent of these reports is in *Book of the States*, 1952-53, "State Administrative Reorganization, 1950-51," pages 147-153. The most comprehensive treatment of the general trends is in *Reorganizing State Government*, 153 pages (1950).

tion of the governor; the other 32 reorganization bodies are based on statutory action. Of these, in eighteen states a special commission of some kind was created, and in the remaining fourteen a legislative committee or the state legislative council was assigned responsibility for reorganization. A few of the groups are "mixed" commissions in the sense that the Hoover Commission was, with legislators, administrative officials and private citizens included in the membership, or they consist of some combination of two of these three groups. Usually, however, the reorganization committee or commission consists entirely of legislators or of private citizens appointed by the governor.

All Branches Studied

Many of the reorganization agencies have assignments which extend beyond the traditional concern with just the executive branch. In four states all three branches of government were subject to study and in five others attention was given to both the executive and legislative branches. At the other extreme there are a few states in which the reorganization was given a narrow focus, as in Kentucky and Maine, where the revenue system was the primary subject for examination.

Another characteristic of the typical little Hoover commission is the use of home talent in mapping out reorganization plans. Instead of hiring an outside research organization to come in and do the job, the states are favoring maximum reliance on investigative and research staff available within the state. Similarly, widespread citizen participation is

fostered, not only by naming many private citizens to the reorganization agency itself (Texas tops the other states in this respect with 537 members on its Economy Commission), but also by setting up citizen advisory committees or citizen committees for selling reorganization plans to the public.

Perhaps the most remarkable kind of uniformity is in the findings as to what is wrong and what needs to be done by way of reform. Here we find that the recurring recommendations in the reorganization proposals of the little Hoover commissions are much like those of the federal Hoover Commission and of earlier state surveys. By and large, recent reports show no major deviations from the tenets of reorganization developed in the decades from 1910 up to World War II and presented as a fairly firm body of doctrine by A. E. Buck and others in their writings, as well as in numerous official reorganization reports.

This consensus is the more noteworthy because in recent years numerous criticisms have been directed at these "principles" of reorganization, both as to their general validity and as to their particular application in organizing state administration. Among the numerous dissenters, on one ground or another, have been such influential and experienced persons as Charles S. Hyneman, William H. Edwards, Herbert S. Simon and Marshall E. Dimock.² As a result,

²For a recent article questioning some of the proposals of the "orthodox" reorganizers, see Dimock, "The Objectives of Governmental Reorganization," *Public Administration Review*, Autumn, 1951, pp. 233-41.

opinion which can claim to be "expert" is much more divided now than it was ten or fifteen years ago as to what the objectives of reorganization should be.

These hesitations and reservations may be a portent of a new emphasis in working out answers to organizational problems sometime in the future. However this may be, there is little evidence that there has been much of a carryover of this attitude in the current outpouring of reorganization reports. The main objectives are much the same now as before. The only significant difference is a less rigid insistence upon a pat formula for reorganization and a greater willingness to adapt the pattern of specific recommendations to the traditions and peculiarities of the state concerned. The ultimate goals remain fairly fixed and stable.

Governorship a Focal Point

What are the most important of these objectives held in common by most of the little Hoover commissions? First of all, the governorship continues to be urged as the focal point of responsibility and authority for the conduct of administration. The reports show adherence to this concept not only by stating it explicitly but also by specific suggestions to move toward it. For instance, many of the reports propose a reduction in the number of elected officials in the executive branch, an extension of the governor's term of office from two years to four, increases in his powers of appointment and removal, strengthening of the item veto and of executive budget systems, and similar efforts to remove barriers which now exist to

effective gubernatorial leadership in administration.

No support appears, on the other hand, for splitting the dual role now assigned to our governors and separating their functions in legislation and policy formation generally from their functions in the execution of policies already decided upon. Transfer of the essentials of city manager metropolitan government to the state level in some such fashion as was suggested a number of years ago by Professor Harvey Walker gets no backing from state reorganizers. Nor are they at all intrigued with the hint dropped by the committee which framed the latest version of the *Model State Constitution* of the National Municipal League that some state might experiment with the cabinet form of government. There is no departure here from the proposition that the state governor should continue to double in brass as a political and as an administrative official.

Another common note, insistently struck, is that the governor needs help in the performance of his myriad functions, particularly those in the field of administration. This calls for additions to his immediate staff, so that he will have as a minimum one administrative assistant, a personal secretary and a liaison man with legislators, party leaders and citizen groups. In larger states a considerably expanded staff in the governor's office is called for.³

The development of more adequate auxiliary staff agencies with

³See Homer E. Scace, "The Governor Needs Staff," the REVIEW, October 1951, pages 462-67.

central management functions is another facet of aid for the governor. The idea of a department of administration, which groups all or most of these "housekeeping" activities together in an integrated agency directly responsible to the governor, receives widespread support. Minnesota and Michigan furnish examples of such departments which have been in operation for several years,⁴ and in 1951 Rhode Island, Kansas and Oregon set up agencies of the same type. In seven other states reorganization commissions have asked for the creation of such an agency. Since budget preparation and control functions lie at the heart of a department of administration, divisions of budget and of accounting are the core units, with usual additional duties including centralized purchasing, operation of motor pools and mail and messenger service, conduct of administrative management surveys, supervision of public building construction, and property management.

In line with the continuing trend to replace the civil service commission form of organization for personnel management, several reports recommend placing this function in a department of administration or otherwise bringing it within the orbit of the governor's central management controls. In Rhode Island the department of administration even includes revenue administration among its responsibilities.

In view of the experience so far and the growing interest in a consoli-

dated central management agency, the department of administration concept marks an important step in state administrative organization. The head of this department, whether called controller, commissioner, director or by some other title, shows signs of becoming a sort of general manager of administration for the governor, much as the *Model State Constitution* contemplates in its suggestion for an administrative manager to ease the governor's burden of administrative supervision.

Limit Administrative Agencies

The old campaign for cutting down on the number of administrative agencies is pushed with renewed vigor by the little Hoover commissions. At the same time, there is less attraction than has often been shown to some magic number such as twelve or fifteen as the ideal for span of control purposes. Instead, while almost unanimously coming to the conclusion that there are too many separate agencies, the reorganizers are willing to settle for something less than the drastic reduction in number of agencies which has so often been urged in the past. They do not seem to be starting with a decision as to how many agencies ought to exist and then trying to jam everything in without regard to previous experience or practical obstacles.

Connecticut and Minnesota are examples of states which have gone farthest in recommending fewer agencies. The Connecticut Commission of Reorganization advocated grouping of about 200 existing agencies into fourteen operating departments, plus three staff service agen-

⁴A study of the Michigan agency, to be published soon, is being made at the Institute of Public Administration of the University of Michigan.

cies and the governor's office. In Minnesota, the proposal was to have seventeen departments replace 35 departments and 70 boards and commissions.

The Delaware report called for reducing 98 agencies to 24, and attaching to them 23 semi-independent boards. Similarly, in Arizona the recommendation was to scale down from 115 separate units to fifteen departments and two independent agencies, with an additional 38 boards attached to the departments. The Michigan reorganization reports would cut the number of operating agencies in the executive branch from 99 to 37.

The average total of agencies contemplated by the recent reports thus seems to run higher than might have been thought desirable a decade ago, and there is much less insistence that a "scientific" treatment demands thorough-going functional departmentalization according to a standard stereotype.

Boards and Commissions

The perennial question as to the proper use of boards and commissions receives consideration in many of the reports. One of the aims most stressed in the state administrative reorganization movement has been the substitution of single-headed for plural-headed agencies, at least for agencies engaged in administrative as distinguished from quasi-judicial tasks. With a few exceptions, the reports have accepted this as good doctrine. In New Hampshire, however, the commission form was favored even for administrative functions, and the Mississippi report proposed the establishment of a

board or commission for all but one of the major departments.

More often, elimination of numerous existing boards and commissions has been advocated, with perhaps retention of boards for major agencies in isolated instances where the board's operating record has been exceptional or where popular support for continuance of the board is too strong to be overcome. In Michigan, for instance, staff reports recommended single heads for most agencies but not all, and retention of other existing boards has been insisted upon by citizen advisory groups and the Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization. The fields of education, conservation and highways, in particular, are often considered suitable for board control.

Even when the board form is rejected for administrative purposes, the usefulness of boards for advisory purposes and for the exercise of quasi-judicial functions receives recognition in many reports. Although the Connecticut Commission on Reorganization called for a single head for each department, it proposed the creation of a citizens advisory council for each department with five members serving overlapping five-year terms. Moreover, in each department with quasi-judicial powers, these were to be exercised by an administrative adjudication board with three members appointed for overlapping terms by the governor, with Senate confirmation.

Many other reports have pushed the idea of advisory boards or have favored vesting adjudicatory powers in boards rather than single officials.

(Continued on page 345)

Reformer's Task Never Done

Expert points out three basic measures in civil service to insure more efficient operation of the merit system.

By WILLIAM SEAL CARPENTER*

THE merit system has too long been one of the "sacred cows" among American political institutions. Created to thwart the spoilsman, it has evolved a set of procedural regulations the unraveling of which consumes time and energy and contributes to the waste of public funds. A frontal attack upon the red tape and inefficiency of any civil service system will be met by loud outcries from its beneficiaries and their friends that a return to the spoils system is threatened.

This is merely a confusion of the issue to gratify selfish interests. The choice is seldom between the maintenance of the existing civil service system and the indiscriminate distribution of the patronage. All that is desired is more efficient administration of the personnel which has been selected on a basis of merit and fitness. There is nothing sacrosanct about the merit system.

Eighteen states now have civil service laws covering all departments, while thirteen other states have one or more departments under some form of merit system in addition to those departments with merit sys-

tem laws under the social security act.

In the states which provide for general coverage within the merit system, all except Maryland have established civil service commissions or personnel boards. These are appointed by the governor for fixed terms, usually with senate confirmation. Most of them are bipartisan, but this is not always required by law. The executive officer is ordinarily chosen for an indefinite term by the commission or personnel board, although in recent years some states have lodged this appointment directly in the governor.

Among the states where the merit system extends to all departments, there are, broadly speaking, five different forms of personnel control. When civil service reform was first undertaken in the states, complete authority was vested in civil service commissions. These commissions were entrusted with the administration of the civil service system as well as with the quasi-legislative and quasi-judicial powers appropriate to such agencies. Almost none of the persons appointed to the commissions possessed any technical knowledge of personnel administration and nearly all of them received their appointments as rewards for political services. It is really surprising that civil service reform did not perish in its infancy in the hands of the commissions to which it was en-

*Dr. Carpenter, professor and former chairman of the Politics Department at Princeton University, was president of the New Jersey Civil Service Commission from 1944 to 1951. This article is composed of excerpts from his book, *The Unfinished Business of Civil Service Reform*, copyright 1952 by the Princeton University Press.

trusted. Since 1920 the trend has been away from the amateur bipartisan civil service commission.

Some states have retained the civil service commission but have created a director of personnel or other executive officer who administers the civil service system. This executive officer is frequently chosen after a competitive examination and must be qualified in personnel administration. He brings to the department a technical knowledge of civil service matters almost never found among the commissioners.

Commission and Its Executive

The division of authority between the commission and its executive officer has not always been satisfactory. The executive officer has lacked the authority and the responsibility necessary to carry out the administrative work of the department at the same time that the commission has not confined its activities to matters of policy, rule-making and hearings. The result has been in most instances to handicap the executive officer in the conduct of routine departmental duties and to lay the members of the commission open to charges of irregular interference with the administration of the civil service system.

The third form of organization, to be found in a few states, seeks to avoid the division of authority and responsibility between the executive officer and the commission. There is created a personnel director flanked by an advisory committee with limited powers. Some advantages can be claimed in behalf of the advisory committee because it serves

as a sounding board to test public reaction to proposed innovations in the civil service system.

Another modification has been attempted through the lodgment of greater powers in the president or head of the commission. This was undertaken in New Jersey in 1944 and was recommended for adoption in the federal government by the Hoover Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government in 1949. The extent to which the recommendations of the Hoover Commission were adopted is reflected in Reorganization Plan No. 5 of 1949. The title of the head of the United States Civil Service Commission is changed from president to chairman. The responsibility for the administrative direction of the commission's operations is placed upon the chairman, although the three commissioners continue to be responsible for determination of policy and adjudication of appeals.

The fifth form of organization is the single commissioner who administers the civil service system in Maryland. This complete break with established tradition has been praised but not followed in other jurisdictions.

In New Jersey the legislature in 1944 enacted a law reorganizing the civil service commission in an attempt to correct the evils arising from a division of authority between the commission and the executive officer—the chief examiner and secretary. This law provided that “all the executive functions, powers and duties vested in the commission . . . shall be performed, exercised or dis-

charged, as the case may be, solely by the president."

What this quaint phraseology means, nobody has taken the trouble to inquire. It plainly intended to subordinate the chief examiner and secretary to the president of the commission, from whom he received his appointment, and to exclude the commission from the exercise of any control or direction of the administration of the civil service system. The commission was left in the possession of the quasi-legislative and quasi-judicial functions set forth in the statute. Fortunately, the president of the commission first appointed under the act received the unflinching support of his colleagues as well as the chief examiner and secretary in supervising the civil service administration.

Whether the New Jersey innovations will lead to the establishment of sound civil service procedures in all likelihood depends upon the competence and integrity of the president of the Civil Service Commission and the chief examiner and secretary. The other part-time salaried commissioners have few duties to perform, except the holding of hearings. They are excluded by the law so completely from the administration of the civil service system that they are unable to know its operations unless these are reported to them by the president.

Since the commissioners are confined to very meager duties, the result may be that they will become focal points in the political pressures which strive for irregular interference in the administration of the civil service system. Unless some

way can be found for the commissioners to participate in the promotion of the merit system more significantly than at present, it will become increasingly difficult to justify the expenditure of public funds for their salaries.

Connecticut Plan Praised

The Connecticut civil service law is generously praised by civil service reformers because it vests the appointment of the personnel director in the governor and associates with him a commission in an advisory capacity.¹ The personnel director is further strengthened in his administrative control over the civil service through membership on a personnel board with the governor and the commissioner of finance. This board determines all salaries except those of legislative and judicial employees. Appeals from employees who have been dismissed or otherwise disciplined are brought before a special appeals board. Whatever may be the merits of the Connecticut system, there can be no doubt that the governor has more direct and immediate control over personnel administration than is the case in most states under the merit system.

The time has passed when a civil service department can be maintained external to the administrative hierarchy without sacrificing much that is

¹Since Dr. Carpenter's book was prepared, the Rhode Island legislature has established a department of Administration, under which is a division of personnel administration, headed by a personnel administrator. The state's civil service commission has been abolished and a board of appeals created, with advisory powers only, to report to the governor.
EDITOR.

essential to good government. The emphasis in public employment has shifted from the exclusion of unqualified party workers to the inclusion of competent public employees. The problem is not so much that of "keeping the rascals out" as it is that of getting intelligent and capable men and women to accept public employment. In this shift of emphasis civil service reform has been only one factor. Much greater importance must be ascribed to increased skills required in the public services and to the need for economy in government. The new and more complex services being performed by government require qualified employees beyond the capacity of party organizations to provide.

Merit vs. Spoils System

It would be very simple to hire qualified people to perform the public services and also retain the party workers "on the pad" if this did not increase the cost of government unduly. High tax rates and unreasonable assessments bring the scrutiny of taxpayers' associations, chambers of commerce and other civic organizations into the structure of government as well as the public policies at all levels of government. Civil service reform is therefore required to enlarge the scope of its activities to include positive assistance to government in solving the problems of public employment.

Historically, the merit system was introduced to supersede the spoils system. That is to say, appointments to jobs were to be on a basis of merit and fitness, and protection against dismissal for political, racial

or religious reasons was guaranteed. Security of tenure was not intended to protect incompetence or misconduct. The appointing authority was not to be restricted in the internal operations of his department by the adoption of the merit system. Rather what he must do is to make his appointments from civil service eligible lists. What he must not do is to discriminate among his employees on political, racial or religious grounds. It was never the purpose of the merit system to transfer to the central personnel agency the control of public employees so that the heads of operating departments lost their authority effectively to deal with them.

The security afforded by a civil service system is not against loss of employment. Unfortunately a minority of civil service employees or their spokesmen have forgotten the basic principles of the merit system. Employee leaders have frequently perverted the security of tenure under civil service laws to assert in behalf of a civil service appointee an indefeasible right to a job and its emoluments, and to oppose any governmental alterations which affect adversely the employee. Lay-offs, reductions in force, the abolition of unnecessary positions and the consolidation of services in the interest of economy are always fruitful sources of complaint. The stand-pat attitude of an organized group of public employees will often deter legislators from embarking upon governmental changes highly desirable from the point of view of the general welfare.

It may be argued that arbitrary

and high-handed conduct by department heads has compelled civil service employees to stick together. The fact remains that good employees seldom get into trouble. Every department head knows that he will be held responsible for the prompt and efficient performance of the public services entrusted to him. Even those political heads who have nothing to recommend them except slavish attention to party activities will hesitate to remove civil service employees unless the reasons for the removal are sound and in the public interest.

What more often happens is that incompetent and misbehaving employees are continued on the payroll because the task of dismissing them is too great to be undertaken. The appointing authority, burdened with the duties of his office, shrinks from the unpleasantness which attends a dismissal. Statistics have been compiled to show that the dismissal rate in state and local governments has been slightly lower than the current discharge rate in private industry. At the same time, the dismissing authorities have been upheld by civil service agencies in more than 95 per cent of the cases which have been appealed.

Educational Requirements

The most serious indictment of civil service employees stems from their opposition to increased educational requirements for public employment. There was a time when the grammar school could provide the necessary training for most civil service positions. This was followed by the requirement that candidates

for many positions be graduates of high schools. With the increasing complexity of government services there has arisen a large number of positions for which a college training is required. In a great many civil service jurisdictions the most persistent opposition to higher educational qualifications has developed on the part of employees already in the system. Civil service departments are often obliged to grant credits for routine experience in the service in lieu of professional qualifications. The result is a general weakening of the government service to pave the way for the promotion of the unqualified. There can be no strong and vigorous civil service where the employees are permitted to have a hand in determining the qualifications for admission or promotion.

The Maryland merit system law protects the civil service employee at the same time that it exacts from him the full measure of his ability in the performance of his duties. The State Employment Commission in Maryland comprises a single commissioner who is directly responsible to the governor by whom he is appointed. The commissioner is not merely the administrator of the merit system but also the personnel officer whose advice and assistance are available to the governor whenever required. In a recent decision the state employment commissioner stated his functions as follows: "The merit system was enacted to prevent the removal for political or religious motives of loyal, conscientious and efficient employees. The present commissioner is determined to prevent

any violation of this principle and as chief personnel officer of the state he is also opposed to nepotism, favoritism or any other type of unfair treatment of the employees of the state.

"On the other hand, classified employees must recognize that merit system status is not a guarantee of unconditional permanent job tenure. Section 19 of article 64A provides that no removal shall be allowed because of the religious or political opinions or affiliations of any employee but there is no provision in the law or rules against the removal of any merit system employee for causes which would result in his dismissal from private employment. The best guarantee which any person should rely upon to hold any job is to so perform his duties as to create a desire in his superior to retain him in that job. In these days of rising governmental costs, the taxpayer is entitled to know that the civil servant who does not produce satisfactory work is no more likely to be retained in his job than he would be if he were engaged in private industry."

Three Basic Reforms

Three fundamental reforms are necessary to enable civil service systems to function efficiently in present day governments:

1. The amateur bipartisan civil service commissions should be replaced by personnel departments under the direction of a single commissioner responsible to the chief executive. Having introduced the merit system into the federal government and the governments of many states

and municipalities, civil service reform must now strive to enable the chief executive to utilize the public personnel to the best advantage to accomplish the purposes of government.

2. There should be created by law adequate machinery to solve the problems of employer-employee relationships. Between public officials and the employees of government there must be a genuine partnership if the public services are to be efficiently performed. Few genuine grievances arise as a result of violations of civil service laws and regulations. The most common causes of complaints fall wholly outside the provisions of civil service laws and are incapable of inclusion within the normal jurisdiction of civil service departments. Representatives of the public employees must have ready access at all times to the officers of government. Whether the employees are organized in unions or in independent civil service associations not engaged in collective bargaining is a matter for the employees to decide. Where honest differences of opinion arise between department or agency heads and the public employees, negotiations should not be terminated but the dispute should be transferred to some impartial tribunal where the paramount public interest may pronounce a final decision. In other words, there must be set up in the law some competent scheme of arbitration.

3. Citizen organizations interested in the promotion and extension of the merit system should be strengthened. The safeguards of the

merit system remain precisely what they were in the early days of civil service reform—an enlightened electorate which recognizes the evils, nuisance and waste of the spoils system. It is idle to suppose that civil service commissions comprised of political appointees will become staunch defenders of the merit system. The members of such commissions are sometimes busy manipulating the civil service system in the interest of party organizations. The defense of the merit system can be assured only through citizen groups such as the National Civil Service League. The members of these citizen groups should look beyond the recruitment of public personnel to the efficient management of the civil service. In effect, the ideals of civil service reform are identical with those of economy and efficiency in government.

STATES TRY REORGANIZATION

(Continued from page 338)

Nevertheless, these reports do not show any general swing away from the single-headed to the plural-headed type of agency. Most of the reorganization groups accept the conclusion of the Washington Legislative Council that boards and commissions "have not proven effective means for supervising governmental activities which are primarily administrative in character."

Beyond the area of agreement outlined above for reorganization with-

in the executive branch, the little Hoover commissions often show a refreshing realism in pointing out that even a thorough-going attempt at executive reorganization by statutory or administrative action may not be enough. In many states modernization of state government can only come through major constitutional revision which paves the way for reform of the legislative and judicial branches as well as of the executive branch. While the Connecticut report was exceptional in the scope of its recommendations, other reports have also ventured beyond a mere concern with internal executive reorganization and some, barred from making recommendations involving constitutional changes or legislative or judicial reorganization, have at least pointed to the handicap of such a limitation in attacking the over-all problem.

The little Hoover commissions have found out much the same things as their predecessors did as to what is wrong with the organization of our state governments. The recommendations being made are familiar in their main themes, despite interesting variations in details. The question that remains is how successful these commissions will be in marketing their product. If experience so far is typical, the little Hoover commissions, as has happened with so many earlier reorganization groups, are facing and will face their most serious problems in selling their programs for reorganization to skeptical electorates and legislatures.

What Cure for Voter Apathy?

Compulsion not the answer, says author; points to need for education, improvement in voting techniques, etc.

By HENRY J. ABRAHAM*

INTEREST in the forthcoming elections runs high, but electoral participation in the United States has been extremely low for some time. There are millions of Americans who are apparently willing to do everything for their country but vote. In the 1948 elections, for example, 95,000,000 men and women were theoretically able to vote, yet only 66,811,000 registered, of whom a mere 46,680,009 actually cast ballots. Indeed, the over-all participation in presidential elections since the turn of the century has been but 55 per cent of the eligible electorate, with a far lower percentage participating in state, local and primary elections.

Since in democratic systems popular influence characteristically exerts itself through voting, it is with chagrin and dismay that responsible persons in public and private life have noted this persistent popular apathy. Thus, in order to decrease the degree of indifference and inertia, compulsory voting has frequently been suggested as a remedy.

The practice of the obligatory vote is prevalent abroad in close to 30 countries, among them Australia, Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Luxembourg. Over 90 per cent of the qualified electorate regu-

larly cast their ballots where the practice exists. Hence it is not astonishing to find agitation for its adoption in the United States. While we do not now have such statutes, the issue is never completely dormant and has had a perhaps natural tendency to become alive during major election periods.

Among the American adherents of compulsory voting have been officials high in government: Governors from New York, Massachusetts and Missouri; members of the cabinet in the Taft and Wilson administrations; United States senators from Kansas, Michigan, North Dakota and Pennsylvania; United States representatives from New York; a host of state legislators; a chairman of the national committee of a major political party; and numerous prominent citizens in private life, who not only cited its presence abroad but also its existence in the colonies of Plymouth, Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, North Carolina and in Revolutionary Georgia.

Their pleas did not fall entirely on deaf ears. Three states, North Dakota (1897), Massachusetts (1918) and Oregon (1919), passed constitutional amendments making obligatory voting possible, subject to an enabling act of the state legislature. Popular referenda approved the North Dakota and Massachusetts amendments in 1899 and 1918 respectively, but the voters of Oregon rejected it in 1920. A total of 57

*Dr. Abraham is an instructor in the Department of Political Science of the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, University of Pennsylvania, and author of articles and other publications on the compulsory vote.

bills calling for some type of compulsory voting were introduced in the legislatures of Massachusetts, Maryland, New York, Indiana, Connecticut, Wisconsin, Rhode Island, California, Maine and Kansas between 1888 and 1952, although none was passed.

Kansas City, Missouri, had compulsory voting between 1889 and 1895, when it was declared unconstitutional by the Missouri Supreme Court in an opinion by Chief Justice Brace, who remarked: "The ballot of the humblest voter in the land may mould the destiny of the nation for ages. Who can say it will be for weal or woe to the republic? Who that it is better that he should cast, or withhold it? Who dares put a price upon it?"¹

Claims of Proponents

Champions of compulsory voting customarily advance some or all of the following contentions: (1) voting is an inalienable right, guaranteed by the United States and the state constitutions; (2) total participation is eminently desirable and should be enforced for the good of society; (3) voting can be compelled since it is not a privilege but a duty, a public trust, held by the elector for all the people; (4) compulsory voting impresses a sense of duty and responsibility toward the state; (5) compulsory voting puts politics on a higher plane; it brings out the educated, the intelligent vote; (6) compulsory voting can be likened to many other civic duties, such as compulsory taxation, compulsory military service or *posse comitatus* mem-

bership, compulsory jury duty and compulsory education; (7) compulsory voting can be readily enforced via the threat of sanction of fines, unfavorable publicity, disfranchisement or even imprisonment, all of which are provided by the practicing countries.

There is no doubt that compulsory voting, if enforced, would materially increase participation at the polls in the United States. Yet the fundamental question arises whether mandatory voting goes to the root of the matter of non-voting? Apathy and indifference are but *symptoms* of non-voting. They are not its *cause*. Will the obligatory vote serve to eradicate the causes of the evil? Certainly absence from the polls does not always denote inertia or neglect. Among its many other causes are the lengthy and complex ballot that confronts a majority of the voters, the frequency of elections, sundry registration obstacles, artificial barriers to voting deliberately imposed by states, disfranchisement for varied reasons, unattractive candidates and, last but not least, the frequent absence of genuine issues, the failure of a sincere and honest presentation of fundamental principles by our political parties.

Since compulsory voting fails to address itself to these causes its wisdom may be doubted. Yet there are a number of additional reasons why the adoption of the obligatory vote in the United States of America would seem to be inadvisable:

(1) Voting is not an inalienable right. It is a privilege, bestowed by government, in the United States by the several states, subject to certain

¹*Kansas City v. Whipple*, 136 Mo. 475 (1896).

federal and state constitutional provisions and latent congressional oversight. The franchise privilege is deniable to certain classes of citizens through legal qualifications. Limitations to denial have been imposed by the federal constitution and by Supreme Court interpretation, but there has not been an affirmative guarantee of a "right to vote." Merely the "denial" or "abridgment" of "the right to vote" has been circumscribed. The judiciary has held that the constitution does not confer the right of suffrage on anyone, that it is not a necessary incident of citizenship. Therefore no inalienable right to vote exists.

Voting a Moral Duty

(2) Voting is not a social duty which should be made a legal duty. It is a moral obligation, a demonstration of responsible citizenship, a worthy endeavor, but not a duty enforceable at law. Voting is a privilege bestowed upon the citizen, which once bestowed becomes his personal right, a right which he must be free to exercise or not. A maximum exercise by conscientious citizens is to be welcomed and encouraged. Indeed, it is a moral—as distinct from a legal—obligation, but one which cannot be statutorily enforced without reducing privilege and right to a hollow mockery. These terms fail to retain validity if the concept of free choice of exercise is removed.

(3) Total participation by the electorate is not necessarily desirable. It is not the absolute number of voters that counts, but the number of informed voters. To some extent a welcome sifting of the electorate may take place under optional

voting. In the absence of adequate civic education, the self-imposed exclusion of the disinterested and the uninformed may be salutary. It is extremely doubtful that it is desirable to conscript the voter's attention and interest upon public questions to the extent of obliging him to vote against his will. It is hardly possible to obtain the desired judgment in this manner. If the individual deliberately chooses not to vote, it would be imprudent to compel him to go through the motions counter to his express feelings. Moreover, non-voters vote, too: By not casting a ballot the non-voter influences elections. He constitutes a force in the political realm.

(4) Compulsory voting is probably unconstitutional. The United States Supreme Court has never been called upon to determine its constitutionality but in the one case on record, that involving a provision of the city charter of Kansas City, Missouri, the highest court of that state found the practice unconstitutional. The judgment of the Missouri Supreme Court was never appealed, nor has any other case involving compulsory voting been taken to court since that time. In the Kansas City case Chief Justice Brace maintained that "voting is not such a duty as may be enforced by compulsory legislation," that it is distinctly not within the power of any legislative authority, national or state, to compel the citizen to exercise it. Whether the United States Supreme Court would sustain this reasoning is conjectural, of course.

(5) Compulsory voting would be extremely difficult to enforce in the

United States. One of the characteristics of compulsory voting in action has been its lackadaisical enforcement, despite the presence of various penalties, ranging from monetary fines and publicity to disfranchisement and imprisonment. Assuming for the sake of argument that the authorities in the United States would be willing to enforce the legislation strictly, it is at least doubtful that it would prove successful in view of the country's size and complexity. Australia with eight million inhabitants and Belgium with eight and a half million, two compulsory voting countries that enforce the obligatory vote with reasonable conscientiousness, have found the cost and the administrative burdens heavy.

Enforcement a Huge Task

The United States with 154,000,000 people had 46,000,000 abstentions in the presidential election of 1948 alone. While it stands to reason that this large number of abstainers would be substantially reduced by a compulsory voting law, it seems improbable that even a hard core of 10 per cent of non-conformists could be duly notified, summoned, convicted and reprimanded, fined, disfranchised or jailed. Many a jury would fail to convict. Moreover, if the lack of enforcement of some of our criminal statutes is any indication at all, a compulsory voting law would, in all probability, be enforced sporadically at best. Finally, little stands to be gained with negligible, easily payable fines, while heavy fines or imprisonment would be out of proportion to the offense committed.

(6) What is really demonstrable with compulsory voting in non-totalitarian countries is enforced attendance at the polls. As long as we remain under a democratic form of government and retain the secret ballot, it is possible to cast spoiled or blank ballots deliberately. The percentage of such invalid, or "informal," ballots, as the Australians refer to them, has risen sharply in each country where the practice has been introduced. In non-compulsory voting countries the rate of invalid ballots is customarily $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, but in those practicing compulsion it has averaged 5 or 6 per cent. The latter may not be considered high as a price for an increase in over-all participation of 15 or 20 per cent, yet it indicates a definite protest-register on the part of unwilling electors.

It is possible that enforced appearance at the polls would breed the custom of attendance and instill a conscientiousness of habit in the voter, causing him to reflect upon the issues, if any, of the election. By the same token it could repel and disgust others who have been faithful voters. Compulsory voting is not really accomplished by compulsory attendance at the polls. The voter, like the proverbial horse, can be forced to the voting trough, but he cannot be made to drink.

(7) A compelled vote is not synonymous with an intelligent vote. We could conceivably enforce voting, but we could hardly enforce informed, intelligent voting. Little would be gained by a mass of uninformed voters in the ballot booth. The problem is one of education; we must cause

our potential electorate to become acquainted with the issues of the day; we must attempt to provide political education. Given genuine issues, an intelligent, informed electorate will of itself come to the polls: We have the recent examples of Great Britain, Sweden, France and Canada, where 82, 82, 78 and 74 per cent of the eligibles, respectively, cast ballots under the voluntary system. More impressive still is the record of the citizens of New Zealand. During the sixteen-year period from 1935 to 1951, covering five general elections, 92 per cent of the electorate went to the polls of their own volition. In 1946, a total of 95 per cent cast ballots there. Our first task is to endeavor to create an informed electorate.

(8) *Compulsory voting* is undemocratic. It is difficult to see how we can remain faithful to the principles of democracy by compelling people to exercise an ostensible privilege contrary to their will. Since the ability to vote is a privilege conferred upon the citizen it ceases to be such when he is compelled to exercise it. How can he be deprived of his right *not* to vote? By being compelled to vote he ceases to enjoy the basic grant. The argument that there are many other civic performances to which we are compelled, such as jury duty, education, military and *posse comitatus* service, and taxation ignores the fundamental differences between the nature of compulsory voting and these elements of compulsion:

Compulsory Taxation. Taxes are a necessity, born of the cost of operation of government and community

needs. Since we belong to a governed community, and presumably benefit by its services, we should contribute to its expenses. While voting, too, is an integral part of the framework of government, it is—unlike taxes—a privilege of the elector, his to exercise in accordance with his convictions. Albert Bushnell Hart, Harvard professor and delegate to the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention of 1917-18, quipped that a state has a perfect right to tax a citizen simply because he has a head, but to require him to use the brains in that head is something else again.

Compulsory Jury Duty. It is significant that many lawyers are opposed to unwilling jury duty. They know from experience it is unsatisfactory and ineffective. Further, it is comparatively easy to avoid duty, for a confession of bias will almost certainly result in disqualification.

Compulsory Education. Only youngsters up to a certain age bracket are affected by compulsory education; compulsory voting would presumably affect all otherwise eligible voters.

Compulsory Military Service. The principle is not one of universal military duty but of selection of those liable, distinctly limited in number. Military service is a necessity to the existence of the state; voting, though eminently important, is not. Draft legislation in the United States has always been established on an emergency basis. What may well be justified in times of national crisis may be dangerous and

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News in Review

City, State and Nation . . .

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Maryland Commission Urges Home Rule

Asks That Constitution Limit Local Legislation

THE Commission on Administrative Organization of the State, appointed by Governor Theodore R. McKeldin of Maryland early in 1951¹ issued its second report last month. It deals with the use of local legislation in Maryland and recommends constitutional home rule for cities and counties.²

The report points out that at the 1951 session of the Maryland legislature 70 per cent of the bills passed were local in nature, applying to only one, or sometimes a few, of the state's municipalities and counties. It comments: "Although over three-quarters of the states have placed substantial provisions in their constitutions limiting the passage of local laws and in nineteen states municipalities have been granted power to amend their own charters, Maryland has done neither except to grant home rule authority to Baltimore city and to counties."

Two constitutional amendments are recommended, one to limit local bills relating to municipalities, which should cut the total number of bills passed by about 20 per cent, the other to prohibit local legislation for counties, which should reduce the legislative work load by another 30 per cent. The recommendation as to municipalities reads as follows:

"A provision should be added to the Maryland constitution prohibiting the enactment of local laws relating to municipal corporations, except for local laws establishing maximum local property tax and debt limits. Such a constitutional provision should authorize municipalities to amend their own charters or adopt new ones."

An analysis of the problem of local legislation in Maryland is contained in the report, the basic investigational work for which was undertaken by the commission's intergovernmental relations committee, headed by Enos S. Stockbridge. The staff work was primarily by Richard D. Andrews, assisted by Elwyn A. Mauck, the commission's staff director, and other consultants.

The commission last year designated twelve study areas: Governor and over-all management; finance; personnel; intergovernmental relations; conservation, development and utilization of natural resources; education; health, welfare and economic security; military, police and civil defense; public works and buildings; correctional institutions; regulatory administration; election administration. Several committees were designated by Chairman Simon E. Sobeloff to consider specific subjects. The commission held a number of regional meetings to which members of the legislature, the advisory committee and representatives of the press were invited.

Governor McKeldin also appointed an advisory committee of more than 80 members to aid the commission and serve as a sounding board of public opinion.

¹See the REVIEW, May 1951, page 261.

²For recommendation regarding county government see page 358, this issue.

Tennessee Votes on Constitutional Convention

The people of Tennessee will again have the opportunity, August 7, to authorize a limited constitutional convention to revise that state's 82-year-old unamended constitution. The 1951 legislature adopted an act¹ authorizing the call for the convention and permitting the latter to draft proposed amendments relating to six specific matters: the amending process, legislators' pay, the governor's term, the veto power, the suffrage and home rule for cities and counties.

The question of calling the convention will appear on the county general election ballot on August 7 and if a majority of those voting on the issue favor a convention 99 delegates will be chosen in the November election, in the same manner as state representatives. The convention would meet in April 1953. Proposed amendments would be submitted in a statewide referendum at a date fixed by the convention.

Thirteen previous efforts to change the constitution have failed. The present effort to call a convention is led by the Tennessee Citizens Committee for a Limited Constitutional Convention, aided by the Tennessee Municipal League, the League of Women Voters and various other civic associations.

Illinois to Vote on Four Amendments

Voters of Illinois will pass on four constitutional amendments at the November 1952 general election. Their submission was made possible by the "gateway" amendment adopted by the voters in 1950² which removed from the constitution its provision that

only one amendment might be submitted at a given election.

The first amendment deals with taxation. Its chief provision would permit the classification of property, which would make it possible for the legislature to tax personal property and real estate at different rates, as is usual elsewhere. It would also allow forest lands and mineral rights to be separately treated. Another section would permit the levy of miscellaneous types of taxes, uniform as to class. A graduated income tax is specifically barred.

The second would eliminate a constitutional prohibition against a sheriff or county treasurer succeeding himself in office.

The third would eliminate the constitutional salary limits of 1870 as to certain county officials and would give the legislature power to prescribe such limits.

The fourth would remove the provision for double liability on stockholders in state chartered banks except for existing liabilities, within limits, as has been done in all other states except two.

30 States Have Judicial Councils

With establishment of a judicial council by the 1951 Wisconsin legislature, the number of states having provisions for judicial councils is increased to 30, reports the Council of State Governments. The new Wisconsin agency will collect judicial statistics regularly in addition to examining and making recommendations on improving the administration of justice.

In addition to Wisconsin, 21 states authorize creation of judicial councils by legislation. Eight others have created councils by rule of the Supreme Court or resolution of the Bar Association.

¹See the REVIEW, May 1951, page 260.

²See the REVIEW, February 1951, page 88.

Membership of the judicial council usually is composed of representatives of the state judiciary from the lowest to the highest courts. Frequently law school professors, the attorney general, members of the legislature and representatives of the public and press are included.

Statutory provisions for judicial councils vary from state to state. California's council has the power to adopt or amend rules of practice and procedure for the several courts not inconsistent with other laws and is required to submit to the legislature at each regular session recommendations for amendments and changes. Other states, including Ohio, Massachusetts and New York, require their councils to make continuous study of the organization, rules and methods of procedure and practice of the judicial system, the work accomplished and results obtained. The legislatures in New York, Massachusetts and Kansas refer proposed legislation concerning judicial matters to their judicial councils for recommendations.

At least ten states—Missouri, New Jersey, Virginia, California, Idaho, Maryland, Mississippi, New Mexico, North Dakota and Utah—hold annual judicial conferences the membership of which includes both appellate and trial court judges. In at least thirteen other states the judges of *nisi prius* courts meet annually for mutual exchange of ideas.

Council-manager Plan Developments

The city council of **San Carlos, California**, (14,371) adopted an ordinance providing for the council-manager plan in December. Since it proved to be in conflict with a civil service ordinance adopted by referendum in 1948, the manager plan could not be made effective. On April 8, however, the civil service ordinance was amended

by popular vote and the manager plan is now established.

Richlands, Virginia, (4,648) and **Ogunquit, Maine**, (1,200) have recently adopted the council-manager plan.

The town moderators of **Natick and Millbury, Massachusetts**, have appointed committees to study the advisability of the use of the town manager plan.

Efforts of the Municipal League of **Warwick, Rhode Island**, to place the election of a charter commission on the ballot have failed because its petitions have been declared insufficient. The city solicitor has ruled that there is no precedent for granting the league's request for permission to re-submit faulty signatures or add new ones to the petition.

The Citizens Committee for Council-Manager Charter of **New Haven, Connecticut**, is circulating petitions to place the matter of electing a charter drafting committee on the ballot.

The **Barnesboro, Pennsylvania**, council has appointed a committee to study the practicality of the manager plan for that borough.

The Joint Committee for Council Manager Government in **Savannah, Georgia**, on June 2 filed its petitions calling for the election of a seven-member commission to frame a council-manager charter. Although only 10,500 names were needed the petitions carried several thousand additional. Meantime, another group has given Mayor Cunningham a proposed act for incorporating a council-manager form of government. This charter would be enacted through the General Assembly.

In **Evanston, Illinois**, the League of Women Voters has been studying the council-manager plan. In April a forum on the subject, under the auspices of the Chamber of Commerce, resulted in formation of a committee

of seven civic leaders to investigate the pros and cons of the manager plan.

The **Calumet City (Illinois)** Committee for Better Government has been working to bring about an election on the question of adopting the manager plan.

The **Mississippi Economic Council** reports great interest throughout the state in obtaining council-manager government, as facilitated by the enabling act which was adopted in April.

The city council of **Crookston, Minnesota**, has told the commission now at work on a new charter that it would support the council-manager form.

At a May meeting in **Sioux City, Iowa**, sponsored by the city government educational committee and attended by representatives of some 50 organizations throughout the city, former mayor Dan J. Conley urged the substitution of the council-manager plan for the existing commission plan.

West Plains, Missouri, is considering a proposal to adopt the manager plan. The Chamber of Commerce held a meeting addressed by Manager O. L. Barbarick of Lebanon, Missouri.

Petitions have been presented to the city council of **Brookfield, Missouri**, which has operated under the council-manager plan since 1945, for a popular vote on its continuance. The city attorney plans investigation of the petitions, claiming that many of the signatures are invalid.

Mayor Fred Hervey of **El Paso, Texas**, is advocating a new charter, to include the manager plan.

The city council of **Portland, Oregon**, has voted down a proposal to place the council-manager plan on the ballot in November. The matter had been submitted by a citizens' reorganization committee, appointed several years ago by Mayor Dorothy Lee McCullough. The 45-page proposal has been re-

ferred back to the committee. It can be placed on the ballot by initiative action if the committee undertakes the circulation of petitions.

In **Anacortes, Washington**, the city attorney has drawn up a resolution calling for an election on the council-manager plan. The city council has indicated it will act on the measure after a thorough investigation of the advantages and disadvantages of changing to that system has been made.

The city council of **St. Boniface, Manitoba**, has appointed a special committee to investigate the manager plan as a possibility for that city.

Seventy out of nearly a hundred city managers in **Texas** met in Beaumont, April 28-29.

Oklahoma managers met in Oklahoma City on May 1-2. **Ohio** managers met in Dayton, April 30-May 2, in conjunction with the first annual conference of the Ohio Municipal League; 18 out of 28 managers attended.

The 38th annual conference of the International City Managers' Association will be held in Kansas City, Missouri, September 28 to October 1.

Charge of Councilmanic Interference Fails

In Quincy, Massachusetts, which has had the council-manager form of government (Massachusetts Plan E) since 1950, a jury on May 1 declined to find Councilman Carl W. Anderson guilty of violating a charter provision forbidding interference with the manager or his subordinates as to appointment or removal of officers or employees.

Mr. Anderson was indicted by the grand jury in April on six counts of attempting to influence appointments or removals. City Manager William J. Deegan testified that the councilman had repeatedly tried to have him hire

or discharge specific persons. The Plan E provision claimed to be violated (section 107) prescribes that any member of the city council who directs or requests the appointment or removal of any person by the manager or any of his subordinates shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$500 or by imprisonment for not more than six months, or both, and also, upon final conviction, shall be removed from the council and shall be ineligible for any city office or position.

The trial judge directed a verdict of acquittal on one of the counts, and urged the jurors to "use your God-given common sense" in regard to the other five. After deliberating 40 minutes the jury rendered a verdict of not guilty—influenced, no doubt, by the exceptionally severe penalties, particularly the mandatory removal and ineligibility.

Longer Term for Detroit Constables Decried

Detroit voters, who declined last fall to increase the term of constables from two years to four, while approving the increase for other city officers, will have another opportunity in November, under a 1952 statute. If the referendum is approved, the terms of constables will coincide with those of mayor, city clerk and councilmen. As the matter now stands, the November 1955 election would be for constables only.

The Detroit Citizens League, in its *Civic Searchlight*, says: "It seems absurd that our election machinery should be involved in providing for a choice of 44 constables, either on a two- or four-year basis. A move had been made to arrange for the handling of the minimum amount of work now done by constables in Detroit. That work could be and is being done by about twelve persons. However, the

constables and their friends would not get behind that movement. . . . Last fall there was a great deal of sentiment for abolishing the office of constable."

Municipal Clerks Found to Have Many Functions

A recent survey of the duties of 621 city, town and village clerks in the United States, Canada, Alaska and Hawaii, by the National Institute of Municipal Clerks, reveals a wide variety of responsibilities and also a number of different titles by which clerks are known, in combination with or additional to their primary titles.

Among major functions discharged by over 70 per cent of the reporting clerks are those of record-keeping, minute-taking and other services as clerk to the governing body, handling information and complaints, issuing licenses and conducting elections. From 30 to 55 per cent have responsibilities, in descending order of incidence, for general municipal accounting, collection of general revenues, compilation of the municipal budget, codification of ordinances, preparation of the city annual report, custody of general city funds, recording of vital statistics and conduct of general municipal purchasing.

In addition, 21 per cent of the clerks reported serving as municipal personnel officer, 19 per cent as superintendent or custodian of city hall and 18 per cent as recorder of deeds and mortgages. In other cities clerks handle property tax assessments and inspections and act as superintendent of public works. They also are clerks to various municipal boards, commissions and committees, with a number having responsibilities in connection with municipal courts or cemeteries.

Seven clerks are also the city, town or borough manager, four others are

acting or assistant managers and two are administrative officers. An Illinois clerk reports that he is also mayor, figuratively rapping the gavel with one hand and taking minutes with the other. One clerk is also the fire chief; another sells liquor, legally and officially, as manager of a municipal liquor store. In Tombstone, Arizona, the city clerk manages the municipal hospital and the city clerk of Montreal has under his direct supervision the entire public library system and a municipal post office.

Joint Efforts for Filling Public and Private Jobs

Closer cooperation between civil service agencies and state employment offices is proposed by a joint committee set up by the Civil Service Assembly and the International Association of Public Employment Agencies to explore areas of common interest and ways of providing mutual assistance.

Both types of agency perform such functions as recruiting, job analysis, occupational testing, interviewing, referral and in-service training. Because of their responsibility for administering unemployment compensation programs, state employment agencies have concentrated on work in private industry, while civil service agencies have sought to fill jobs for the governments they represent. This situation has resulted in duplication of effort and delay in finding particular types of employees.

Collaborative arrangements between employment security agencies and central personnel agencies have already been tried out in several states. Both California and New York have programs of this type. Since 1947 California's State Personnel Board and Department of Employment have maintained a joint working relationship whereby the Department of Em-

ployment recruits, tests and refers qualified personnel for openings in the California state service.

Recently the New York State Civil Service Commission and the State Division of Placement and Unemployment Insurance established a cooperative program to expedite the continuous recruitment of stenographers and typists for vacancies in the state service. Qualified candidates are given standard employment service tests by the employment service and those who qualify are interviewed and considered for employment in both state service and private industry.

Political Postmasterships Win in Senate

Proposals of President Truman to place postmasters, customs collectors and United States marshals under the merit system (by presidential reorganization plans 2, 3 and 4, respectively), without senatorial confirmation, stirred up strong opposition in and out of Congress, despite support of the plans by the Civil Service Commission, the Budget Bureau, the Postmaster General, the Treasury, the National Civil Service League, the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report and others. On June 18 all three plans were killed by the Senate—56 to 29, 55 to 28 and 51 to 31, respectively.

The Citizens Committee stated, "Based squarely on recommendations of the bipartisan Hoover Commission these plans would take 90 per cent of the remaining non-policy-making federal jobs out of politics once and for all. Plan 2, affecting 21,438 postmasterships, is especially important."

Three Training Schools Held in New York State

The New York State Conference of Mayors and its Municipal Training Institute, in cooperation with several other organizations interested in

better municipal government, conducted three training schools this spring in furtherance of a statewide training policy and program. The school for assessors was attended by 183; that for grade III water plant operators by 47; and that for grade III sewer plant operators by 37.

Nations' Mayors Confer in New York

The United States Conference of Mayors celebrated its twentieth anniversary in New York, May 15, 16 and 17, with representatives of some two hundred cities of the United States and a score of foreign cities in attendance. Chief topics of discussion included a better allocation of revenue sources between national, state and local governments, street traffic congestion, local transportation, civilian defense, and airport planning and control. New York City's Scroll for Distinguished Service was presented to mayors of seven foreign cities.

GPRA Holds Third Annual Meeting

The Government Public Relations Association met in New York on May 23—its third annual meeting. Fifteen out of its total active membership of 55, in all parts of the country, were in attendance. Talks and discussions concerned activities of the organization in the past year, ways of strengthening the long-range status of government public relations and efforts to overcome misunderstandings about such relations. The new president is Hank Meyer, director of public relations, City of Miami Beach, Florida.

International Housing, Planning Congress in Lisbon

The International Federation for Housing and Town Planning has an-

nounced that its 21st Congress will be held in Lisbon, Portugal, September 21-27. Most of the meetings will be at the Technical University. There will be four general sessions, devoted to urban land policy, housing in tropical climates, long-term reconstruction and the relation between dwelling type and plan and the layout of the residential section. Study groups on eight topics of housing and planning have been arranged.

The federation's headquarters are at Paleisstraat 5, The Hague, Netherlands.

WHAT CURE FOR VOTER APATHY?

(Continued from page 350)

pernicious under normal circumstances. Compelling a citizen to vote is tantamount to Rousseau's philosophy of "forcing a man to be free."

(9) As was pointed out initially, compulsory voting attacks the symptom of non-voting, yet ignores the causes of that symptom. To find and eradicate these causes must be the task of a healthy and democratic government. The panacea of compulsory voting fails to fulfil that fundamental requirement. It cannot be a cure, for the only cure is a concerted attack upon the various causes of non-voting by virtue of educating the electorate, by technical improvements in the voting process, and by a restoration and enhancement of popular faith in our parties, in politics in general. As *The New York Times* commented editorially at the time of the adoption of the Massachusetts compulsory voting amendment, when compulsory voting is adopted as a remedy for an indifferent electorate, an interior malady is treated as a skin disease.

County and Township Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Virginia County, City, Town Consolidate

Form New City of Hampton under Council-manager Plan

ELIZABETH City County, the city of Hampton and the town of Phoebus, Virginia, voted June 17 to consolidate into a first-class city to be known as Hampton. The vote, held in accordance with an act of the state legislature, was overwhelmingly favorable in each unit: Elizabeth City County, 3,392 to 388; Hampton, 972 to 169; Phoebus, 562 to 99; total 4,926 to 656. Population of the new city will be 60,994.

Consolidation into a first-class city will prevent any possibility of annexation of the county by an adjoining city as can be done without the county's consent under Virginia law. A first-class city is not part of any county.

The new city's charter, effective July 1, provides for the council-manager plan of government. The old city of Hampton has operated under this form of government since 1920; Elizabeth City County adopted it in March of this year.

Urges Prohibition of Local Legislation

The Maryland Commission on Administrative Organization of the State has recommended adoption of a constitutional amendment prohibiting state enactment of local laws affecting only specified counties. The report¹ notes that counties in Maryland are

now governed in considerable detail by the General Assembly through local laws applying to only one, or at best a few, of the counties.

Although counties have the option, under the state constitution, of adopting a home rule charter, only Montgomery County and Baltimore City, which is regarded as a city-county, have done so. As a result, the county home rule provisions have done little to decrease the number of local county bills passed by the General Assembly. For example, the report states that in the legislature's 1951 session, 45 per cent of the laws passed were local county bills.

Since the county home rule provisions have not curtailed the use of local legislation appreciably, the commission recommends that the constitution be further amended specifically to prohibit the General Assembly from enacting local laws relating to counties. Under the proposal, counties would gain no additional home rule rights. They would be dependent upon general state laws for their form of government and powers. The general laws passed by the General Assembly would not have to apply to all counties, since the proposed amendment would authorize the classification of counties into not more than three classes based on population. A law would be considered general if it applied to (1) all counties in a class, (2) all home rule counties in a class, (3) all non-home rule counties in a class.

The commission's report estimated that the passage of such an amendment would reduce the number of laws enacted by the legislature at a regular 90-day session by about 30 per cent. Greater responsibility in local affairs would be placed on local county officials acting under general laws than

¹Local Legislation in Maryland, Second Report of the Commission on Administrative Organization of the State, June 1952, 70 pages.

they have at present under detailed local laws. Furthermore, curtailment of the heavy burden of local legislation would give legislators more time to consider important matters of statewide interest and would free them from excessive concern over purely local matters.

Philadelphia Civic Groups Make Consolidation Suggestions

The Advisory Consolidation Commission, appointed by the Philadelphia city council to make recommendations on city-county consolidation adopted by the voters last November,¹ has before it numerous suggestions. Five local civic organizations have recommended that all elective county offices, with the exception of the district attorney and the controller, be abolished and their functions given to existing city offices.

Some specific suggestions made are that the election duties of the county commission, whose three members

¹See the REVIEW, June, page 307. draw \$8,000 each per year, be given to a new board handling both registrations and elections, to be named by the governor; that the county bureau of weights and measures be transferred to the city department of licenses and inspections, and the welfare agencies connected with the county commission be turned over to the city welfare department.

Duties of the coroner would be taken over by the city health department and the functions of the clerk of courts transferred to the prothonotary, who would also handle the duties of sheriff.

The county office of recorder of deeds would be abolished and its operations merged with the city's department of records.

Accompanying the changes would be the establishment of civil service

status for most of the employees affected.

"This is an excellent program," says the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, editorially, "and one that would give the city-county consolidation effective meaning."

Allegheny County Gets Metropolitan Commission

The Pennsylvania General Assembly has passed legislation, signed by Governor John S. Fine early this year, providing for a fourteen-member Metropolitan Study Commission of Allegheny County. The commission, according to the act, is "to promote the uniform development of the 129 municipalities within Allegheny County [including Pittsburgh] and to encourage those municipalities to cooperate in meeting the problems attendant to the tremendous growth of the county in recent years."

Members of the commission will be appointed by the governor from nominations made by the Allegheny Conference on Community Development, Pennsylvania Economy League, Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce, AFL, CIO, Association of Township Commissioners, Association of Township Supervisors, Association of Boroughs, third class cities within the county, Pittsburgh City Council, Allegheny County Commissioners, County Board of School Directors, County Independent School District Superintendents Association and the Pittsburgh Regional Planning Association. Each group may make one nomination.

Subjects to be covered include building codes, housing developments, cooperation among communities, consolidation of small communities and of school districts and "any other subject which the commission deems proper" and which is within the scope of the act.

An attempt in 1929 to consolidate Allegheny County and its many municipalities into a single integrated unit, though securing a majority of the votes, failed to meet the provision for a two-thirds vote in a majority of the municipalities involved.¹

City-County Consolidation of Functions in Colorado

The Boulder, Colorado, health department recently was merged with the Boulder County health department, and the city of Alamosa, in the same state, has joined with Alamosa County in a flood control project which will involve dredging and the building of dikes.

In the health reorganization, the city and county staffs will share an office supplied by the county, although separate city and county payrolls will be maintained. Forty per cent of the services of the combined staff, according to the agreement, must be performed within Boulder City. A statute authorizing intergovernmental contracts of this nature was enacted in 1949.

Voting Machines Approved in Two West Virginia Counties

The people of Logan and Kanawha Counties, West Virginia, have voted their approval of the use of voting machines. The necessity of official action and securing of funds, however, will undoubtedly delay the actual use of machines in the two counties. Kanawha County, containing the state capital, Charleston, is the most populous in the state.

Meanwhile, Cabell County, the only

one in the state now using voting machines, experienced difficulties in the primary because within the Huntington city precincts over 500 names of candidates appeared on the machines. The League of Women Voters, Chamber of Commerce and citizen organizations are seeking ways to remedy the delay which caused many to turn away from the polls without voting.

PAUL D. STEWART

Marshall College

Cattaraugus County Government Analyzed

The Public Expenditure Committee of the Cattaraugus County, New York, Board of Supervisors recently submitted a thorough study and analysis of the county's government to the board. In its lengthy report it recommended especially: (1) the strengthening of the personnel system, (2) making more effective use of the budget officer, (3) development of a genuine capital planning program and (4) positive techniques to educate the citizens regarding county operations.

History Project Sponsored by Warren County, N. C.

Commissioners of Warren County, North Carolina, are sponsoring an essay contest in order to obtain a history of the county. The students in the county schools are invited to compete by writing a history of 10,000 words or less. The first and second prizes consist of a \$50 and a \$25 war bond. Other interested organizations and persons are invited to contribute additional prizes to increase the incentive for students to participate. The county board retains the right to modify or combine the entries in order to construct a satisfactory history of the county.

¹See "Voters Turn Thumbs Down on Pittsburgh's Metropolitan Charter," by Martin L. Faust. The REVIEW, August 1929, page 529.

Taxation and Finance*Edited by Wade S. Smith*

**Ohio Floats
A Record Loan*****Turnpike Revenue Bonds
Sold at Large Discount***

THE largest revenue bond issue ever sold by a state or municipality in the United States was placed June 3, 1952, when Ohio placed with a large syndicate of banks and dealers \$326,000,000 of revenue bonds to finance construction of the Ohio turnpike. The bonds were part of a \$330,000,000 authorization voted by the state's electors and will be payable solely from tolls, etc., charged to users of the facility, which will be constructed and operated by a special commission.

The bonds, which mature in 1992 but will be redeemable by call beginning in 1962, bear interest coupons of $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent and were sold at \$976 per \$1,000 bond, an effective interest rate of approximately 3.36 per cent per annum for the \$318,176,000 the state will receive. The bonds were reoffered by the bankers at par and accrued interest, were all placed on the day of public offering, and were within the next few days traded at a price as high as $102\frac{1}{4}$ per cent of par. Not all the \$7,824,000 discount received by the offering syndicate was profit, however; negotiations for placement of the bonds had been proceeding for many months and underwriting expenses were said to be extraordinarily large, involving among other things the organization of a syndicate of some 410 banks and investment firms throughout the nation to effect distribution of the securities.

At the same time the offering of the syndicate for the bonds was accepted by the turnpike commission, action

was taken to start a test suit before the Ohio Supreme Court to settle legal questions raised by opponents. The commission's secretary refused to sign the bond certificates, or to attest the signature of the commission's chairman, and the commission's secretary-treasurer immediately went before the state's highest tribunal—with the necessary briefs already printed—to ask for a writ of mandamus directing the secretary to sign.

The friendly suit is described as raising all the questions of legality involved in two taxpayers' suits filed earlier, which had threatened to delay proceedings for months while they were argued through the intermediate courts. Ruling on the application for mandamus is expected before the court adjourns for the summer.

The cost to Ohio of the money it has borrowed for its turnpike is not out of line with the cost of other turnpike loans recently financed with revenue bonds, but it serves again to raise the question whether revenue bonds are an appropriate means of financing for large state projects. In early June 1952, the average interest yield of general obligation bonds of twenty representative state and municipal issuers, as compiled by *The Daily Bond Buyer*, was 2.10 per cent. Had Ohio chosen to pledge its full faith and credit for payment of the bonds, as well as to offer the security of toll and other user-charges, it would undoubtedly have secured its money at a much lower cost.

***Akron and Canton Adopt
Income Taxes***

Two more Ohio cities have joined the ranks of those levying payroll and gross income taxes. In Akron a tax

at the rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 per cent has been dedicated for four years, 30 per cent to debt retirement, 30 per cent for trunk sewer construction, 8 per cent for the University of Akron and 25 per cent for fire, police and park operations, with the remaining 7 per cent for administration. Income is estimated at \$3,500,000 annually. In Canton a tax at the same rate became effective July 1, 1952.

Other Ohio cities which have followed Toledo's lead in levying gross income taxes are Dayton, Springfield and Youngstown. To the end of 1951, the Toledo tax had yielded that city more than \$34,000,000. In the six years since the Toledo excise was imposed, it has provided funds to retire all the city's general purpose bonded debt, as well as large amounts for capital improvements and current operations.

States Adjust Income Tax Rates

State legislatures meeting so far in 1952 have found income taxes, both personal and corporate, a lively issue, with minor reductions and procedural changes more the rule than rate increases, according to the Federation of Tax Administrators.

Maryland lowered its income tax rate for the first time by allowing individual taxpayers a 15 per cent credit on taxes due on 1951 income. Colorado, New York and Virginia extended reductions enacted in prior years and Georgia increased tax exemptions and deductions.

Colorado's 20 per cent tax cut, allowed individual and corporate income taxpayers since 1950, has been extended to the calendar year 1952, while in New York the payment of individual income taxes at 90 per cent of normal rates was made applicable to 1951 income. New York's full income tax rate has not been imposed since 1941, with the 10 per cent reduction

effective since 1948. Also extended was a 25 per cent cut, from 4 to 3 per cent, in New York's unincorporated business tax, first allowed on taxes due on 1945 income.

Virginia's automatic tax reduction act providing for tax cuts for both individual and corporate income taxpayers, contingent upon the level of annual revenues, has been extended indefinitely but in a revised form. On the basis of the new law, a credit will be allowed individual and corporate income taxpayers if general fund revenues for fiscal 1952 exceed budget revenue estimates for that year by at least 5 per cent of the combined estimated corporate and individual income tax yields for fiscal 1953. The credit allowed will be the percentage, disregarding fractions, of the revenue excess to fiscal 1953 combined income tax estimates. General fund revenue collections in Virginia for the first eight months of the current fiscal year were \$65,545,933. The effect of the law will be to give income taxpayers a 5 per cent credit if the general fund revenues exceed \$105,344,399 for this fiscal year, and an additional 1 per cent credit for each \$610,320 over that figure.

Georgia's income tax exemptions for dependents were boosted from \$400 to \$500. Also, a deduction for medical expenses not to exceed 5 per cent of gross income less business expenses was allowed for the first time, and an additional \$500 exemption was granted to taxpayers over 65 or blind. In addition, a proposal was approved for submitting to the voters, next November, a constitutional amendment limiting the state ad valorem rate to $\frac{1}{4}$ mill.

In California a proposed bill to cut sales, income and bank and corporation taxes by \$109,000,000 was defeated after the governor recommended set-

(Continued on page 364)

Proportional Representation

*Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.
and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Private Groups Use P. R.

Citizen, Student, Business Bodies Elect by Hare System

FURTHER instances of the use of proportional representation in the elections of private associations continue to reach this department from time to time. One of the most recent is the election in May of the first permanent board of directors of the Citizens League of Greater Minneapolis. Balloting was by mail with provision for secrecy. The count was open to the membership.

Eighteen nominations were made for the eighteen positions (in three groups, to provide overlapping terms) by a nominating committee. No further nominations were received, although they were solicited in the notice mailed to the membership. Write-in votes were permitted under the rules, however, so that the nominees could not be declared elected until the ballots were examined.

The Seattle Municipal League continues to hold a P. R. election every spring to choose its board of directors, reports the *Seattle Municipal News* published by the league. Nine members are elected each year. A nominating committee usually names eighteen. There is also provision for direct nomination by the membership.

Students of the School of Public Administration of the University of Southern California adopted a new student government charter last May providing for a five-man council chosen by P. R., a chief administrative officer chosen by the council, and various subordinate officers and com-

mittee heads chosen by the chief administrative officer. The latter and his appointees may be removed from office by a majority vote of the proportionally-elected council.

The new charter was derived from model drafts and charters for the council-manager plan of municipal government. The Southern California Chapter of the American Society for Public Administration assisted two student committees in preparing the charter, but the association plays no part in the new organization, according to the student newspaper, *Trojan in Government*.

Consumers Cooperative Services, which runs a chain of cafeterias and food stores in New York City, in May elected three members of its nine-man board of directors (to serve for three-year terms) by the Hare system. The service has used P. R. annually for more than twenty years. Of 899 valid ballots cast, Leslie Woodcock, veteran leader in the cooperative movement, received 500 first choices.

J. E. Rhoads & Sons, Wilmington, Delaware, manufacturers of belting and industrial leathers, uses the Hare system annually for its plant election.

To Investigate P. R. Abroad

George Howatt, instructor in the Department of History and Government at Lehigh University, has been awarded a Fulbright fellowship to study preferential voting and proportional representation in Australia. He expects to leave this country about August 15, to begin his studies with the opening of the spring semester "down under."

Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., of the

Sodality of Our Lady, St. Louis, Missouri, will sail for Europe on August 29 to attend the meeting of the International Union of Family Organizations at Oxford, England, in September. On his trip he expects to visit Ireland and to seek evidence there of change in the relations between political groups since proportional representation elections were introduced. Father Dowling is a member of the councils of the Proportional Representation League and of the National Municipal League.

Limited Vote for Yonkers?

Dissatisfaction with the partisan ward system of representation adopted by Yonkers, New York, when it discontinued the use of P. R. for council elections, is suggested by the circulation of petitions in that city to substitute a limited vote method of election with a nonpartisan ballot.

Under the plan proposed, the council would be reduced to seven members, including the mayor and vice mayor, all to be elected at large. Voters would be permitted to vote for no more than five candidates for council. The seven candidates with the highest number of votes would be elected.

Although the proposed system would provide some minority representation and might avoid—though not certainly—giving a minority party control of the council as the present ward system did when it went into effect in 1951¹ it would tend to give minorities less than a proportional share of representation. Furthermore, under the limited vote system the effectiveness of a voter's ballot might depend on his knowledge of the popularity of candidates in addition to his own preferences, whereas under P. R.

a voter is not handicapped by his ignorance of how most others are inclined to vote, nor is he able to vote more effectively by reference to knowledge of such factors.

TAXATION AND FINANCE

(Continued from page 362)
ting aside excess revenues for state institutional construction or for retirement of state debt. The bill received strong support from the legislature and would have lowered the sales tax from 3 to 2½ per cent, increased personal income tax exemptions by \$1,000 and reduced bank and corporation taxes by 15 per cent.

Several states extended rate increases on income taxes during current legislative sessions. Kentucky extended both individual and corporation income tax rate increases enacted in 1950 and Rhode Island's 1951 corporation income tax increases were also carried over to 1952. Mississippi has enacted a new state income tax law, effective with individual and corporate income earned during the current year. The 1952 law provides for higher rates on several categories of net income but offsets these rate boosts on individual income with higher personal exemptions for most taxpayers.

Illinois Issues Popular Reports

Popularized financial reports to the citizens of Illinois are now being made by the state's Department of Finance, in an attractive little folder illustrated with simple charts and containing abbreviated summaries of revenues and fund balances. That for April 1952, covering the period July 1, 1951, through March 31, 1952, disclosed that total revenues from all sources for the first three quarters of 1951-52 were \$431,200,000, compared with \$383,700,000 in the 1950-51 period.

¹See the REVIEW, December 1951, page 596.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elsie S. Parker

Citizens Committee Seeks Urban Highways

*Conducts Poll to Convince
Rural-minded State Planners*

THE Citizens Highway Committee of New Jersey, organized in 1950 to speed up highway construction, is using public opinion to force political-minded state planners to build highways where they are needed.

In New Jersey as in other states rural legislators, representing acres instead of people, have dominated the Highway Department. The result has been excellent roads and highways in rural sections, leading up to but not into the cities.

Traffic and engineering studies have shown that the real highway need is for modern expressways in the urban areas, but the state has continued to spend its major funds in rural areas, largely ignoring congestion and economic deterioration in the cities.

The Citizens Highway Committee, composed of more than a thousand members, believed that the people of New Jersey were far ahead of their politically-minded planners. It had the Princeton Research Service make a statewide poll to discover what the people felt about highway construction needs. The results have surprised many legislators and state officials.

First, rural residents are nearly as conscious as their city cousins that the real problem is in urban areas. For example, in answer to the question whether rural and secondary roads are overcrowded in their part of the state, only 6 per cent of rural residents said "yes." But 69 per cent of the same group said streets and highways are overcrowded in large cities.

Place of Residence By Population	Streets Crowded in Large Cities
Less than 2,500	69%
2,500-24,999	76%
25,000-99,999	78%
100,000 and over	80%

Traffic Conditions

Most New Jersey adults find driving less enjoyable today than a few years ago. They blame increased traffic, dangerous drivers and inadequate highways.

Nearly three out of every four people feel that the streets in the larger cities in their part of the state are usually overcrowded and nearly as many say they avoid shopping in larger cities because of this congestion. The majority feel that traffic moves fast enough for their needs on main highways in the country but too slowly in business and shopping centers.

Traffic conditions are the main reason for the avoidance of large city business and shopping districts and the major objections are to traffic congestion, inadequate parking facilities and poor traffic planning and control.

Need For More Highways

When asked whether more highways are needed to handle traffic, New Jersey gave a resounding "yes." Seven out of ten said more highways are needed, but it is not surprising that only six out of ten rural residents feel more highways are needed, while in the largest cities eight out of ten stress the need.

New Jersey has been building highways at the most rapid rate in its history during the past two years. Do the people of New Jersey think that construction is proceeding too rapidly? Not at all. Only 2 per cent think so; 46 per cent think we should continue at about the present rate, and a startling 38 per cent think we should build highways even faster.

Public and Experts

The public agrees with the experts on traffic conditions and the need for highways in New Jersey. The people and the experts say they want more highways especially in large cities and other urban areas.

Yet to be determined is the effect of this news on state planners. The Citizens Highway Committee is hopeful they will be as responsive to the voters as they have been to votes in the rural-dominated Senate.

Highway Financing

The public is by no means so clear in its opinions on financing highways.

A substantial majority believes that the cost of all local streets and roads should be paid for from motor vehicle fees rather than from property taxes, the main source of funds up to now.

Seventy-one per cent were opposed to "diversion" of highway user fees and said that all motor vehicle revenues should be spent for highways. This is contrary to the policy now being carried on in New Jersey.

A majority favor "an additional tax on heavy trucks based on the miles they travel and the weights they carry over New Jersey highways." This was one of four suggested solutions and rolled up 51 per cent compared to 32 per cent for the second choice, ending of "diversion" even if it meant new taxes.

A majority, excluding those with no opinion, favor state bond issues to provide more funds for highway construction.

Eight New Jersey citizens feel that the state is spending too little money on highways for every one who feels that the state is spending too much. Over half of those questioned, however, either had no opinion or thought expenditures were about right.

HENRY W. CONNOR, *Secretary*
Citizens Highway Committee

Literature for the Voting Citizen

Civic and political organizations are aiding the citizen to understand his civic duty by the publication of material on voting and participation in the public affairs of his local, state and national government. Here are a few:

12 Steps to More Votes (24 pages, 25 cents) has been issued by the Legislative Department of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Washington, D. C. It is an aid to local chambers in the conduct of "Register and Vote" campaigns.

Good Citizen—The Rights and Duties of an American (72 pages) lists "nine keys to good citizenship . . . the how and why of each." Published by The American Heritage Foundation, it may be secured from that organization at 25 West 45th Street, New York City.

You Can Vote—Summaries of State Registration and Voting Laws (30 pages) was compiled by Mrs. Ethel Y. Black of the Absentee Voters Bureau of the Democratic National Committee, Ring Building, Washington, D. C.

Practical Politics (41 pages), by Daniel J. Riesner, describes the two-party system, the setup of political parties, how the primary system works, registration and voting, etc., and tries to answer the question, "How do I get into politics?" It may be secured from the New York Republican County Committee, 54 West 40th Street, New York.

Voting Responsibility (32 pages), by David S. Switzer, prepared particularly for Texans, is helpful to voters of any state. Write to the Lone Star School-book Depository, P. O. Box 870, Dallas 1, Texas, for a copy at ten cents, or a hundred copies for \$7.50.

Coming down to the local level, the Civic Club of Allegheny County, in Pittsburgh, has issued *Voting Information Compiled in the Public Interest to*

Help you Find the Answer to Your Voting ?'s (seven pages). Covered are the election schedule, qualifications for voting, procedure in voting, rules for the conduct of elections, etc., etc.

The Joint Civic Committee on Elections of Chicago, of which the City Club is a member, has prepared a voter's guide setting forth much of the data that voters should know but don't, reports the *City Club Bulletin*. It lists the names of offices to be voted on, residence qualifications, the routine of voting—paper ballots and machine, write-in voting, powers of precinct officials, and many other items. It is being widely circulated among teachers of adult education classes. Its cost is 20 cents. Ask the City Club.

Getting Out the Vote

A gold feather citizen campaign to get out the vote, patterned along the lines of that recently conducted in Seattle,¹ has been sponsored in the first division of the territory of Alaska. Says the *Seattle Municipal News*, "Our correspondent reported that as a result there were record breaking turnouts in various southeastern Alaska cities for which the gold feather campaign received its due credit."

Harding College, of Searcy, Arkansas, has another suggestion for tagging those who vote. Every person who goes to the polls would be distinguished with a little red, white and blue tag hung from the coat lapel or a button. The tag would read, "I Have Voted—Have You?" Aim of the program says President George S. Benson, "is to get the country's ninety million persons of voting age to the polls every election day."

A competition among students in all schools—public, private and parochial—pointing up the importance of registering and voting in the forth-

coming presidential election, has been announced by the *World-Telegram and Sun*, New York daily newspaper. The effort is part of an "across-the-country campaign" by Scripps-Howard Newspapers to get out the vote. Students have been asked to submit a statement of 50 words or less on "Why voting is vital to democracy?" A board of judges composed of the mayor, superintendent of schools and other prominent officials and private citizens will pick the winners.

The Chamber of Commerce of Visalia, California, has challenged 46 towns to a "Get-Out-the-Vote" contest, to be based on the turnout for the November 4 election. Towns challenged were chosen for similarity of size and character to Visalia.

In St. Louis, previous to the June 5 special registration day, the League of Women Voters urged its members to influence others to register and vote. It distributed cards which read, "I have influenced five people to register" with lines for "how" as well as the name and address of the signer.

A United Modesto?

Appointed by the mayor to develop a program for uniting the city of Modesto (California) and its surrounding areas, the Greater Modesto Committee filed its report late last year. The committee, composed mostly of persons who do not live or vote within the city limits, strongly recommends the unification of the city and its surrounding area rather than an annexation program by the city. Two-thirds of the people involved live outside the incorporated city. Says the report:

"A united Modesto would enable all of us, working together, to provide the facilities and services now needed by this community of 52,000 people.... It is the unanimous opinion of this

¹See the REVIEW, May 1952, page 265.

committee that a united Modesto would be a stronger Modesto, a better Modesto and a greater Modesto. Unification of the unincorporated Modesto area with the present city would serve the best interests of the people of the entire community."

The report discusses boundaries, sewage disposal, fire protection, water, general improvements and services, costs, etc. Eight of the committee's recommendations, which would apply even before unification, have been accepted by the Modesto city council as a basis for immediate action. The council approves also the second group of recommendations, to take place when unification is accomplished.

Off to Good Start

The Citizens League of Greater Minneapolis has selected Raymond D. Black, Minneapolis attorney, as its executive director. The appointment culminated a search of two and a half months throughout the country. The Citizens League,¹ organized early this year, now has a membership of over a thousand.

The league is off to a good start with the publication of two attractive leaflets describing its makeup and aims—*Know Your Citizens League* and *What the League Wants to Do*. The first issue of its news bulletin, *It Is Your Community*, came out May 26. It reports the organization of five Project Study Committees to "begin research into various government procedures and problems on both the city and county level." The committees are listed: Autumn Election Issues, Know Your Departments of Government, Forms of Government, Methods of Financing Government, Methods of Government Operation.

The annual meeting of the League,

held June 11, featured a panel discussion of city and county problems. Participants were city and county officials who answered questions from the audience.

Manager Plan Activities

The League of Women Voters of Worcester, Massachusetts, at its annual meeting this spring, adopted as part of its current agenda the support of the city's Plan E charter, which provides for the council-manager plan with proportional representation. . . . The *Connecticut Voter*, published by the League of Women Voters of Connecticut, carries an article in its April issue on "Council-Manager Government." Prepared by Mrs. Thomas H. Reed of Wethersfield, the story calls the plan "a good mechanism for getting a job done," but adds, "There should always be a strong citizens' committee to act as a watchdog and back competent candidates." . . .

Council-Manager News is a four-page publication of the New Haven (Connecticut) Citizens Committee for Council-Manager Charter. The *News* reports on the efforts of the committee and other civic groups to secure the manager plan for New Haven. James M. Osborn, of Yale University, is acting chairman.

The Colorado Springs (Colorado) Charter League, organized in May, is a "Citizens' organization supporting good local government through the council-manager plan." Its purpose is to "assist in the maintenance of efficient, economical and responsive local government through (a) continuing support and promotion of the principles of the council-manager plan of operation; (b) seeking out and actively supporting the candidacy and office tenure of qualified council members pledged to the maintenance of basic charter provisions and accepted principles of the council-manager form

¹See the REVIEW, March 1952, page 159.

of local government." Colorado Springs has operated under the council-manager plan since 1921.

The Citizens Committee for Better Government of Calumet City, Illinois, has awarded the prize in its essay contest on "Does a Community Derive Benefits from a City Manager Form of Government?" The prize, a \$25 savings bond, was won by Carol Greb, student at the Thornton Fractional Township High School of Calumet City.

The Mississippi Economic Council, which this year secured passage of council-manager enabling legislation, has issued a ten-page pamphlet, *Interested in Council Manager Government?*—"A Citizen's Guide to This New Form of Municipal Government under Mississippi Law." The leaflet describes the manager plan, shows how it works, and how cities may secure it. Included in the last-named category is an outline of a citizens campaign for adoption of the plan

Citizenship Day

As announced in this department in April (see page 217), Citizenship Day will hereafter be celebrated on September 17, Constitution Day. Plans for the seventh annual National Conference on Citizenship, to be held in Washington September 17-19, are being made by the National Education Association and the office of the Attorney General. This year's theme will be "The Constitution and the Citizen." Interested organizations are asked to name three delegates.

The *Report of the Sixth National Conference on Citizenship* (136 pages) is now available at 50 cents from the office of the National Education Association of the United States, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. Reported are the addresses of President Truman, U. S. Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon, Judge

Florence E. Allen, and many other prominent officials, educators and lay citizens, as well as panel discussions. The report is well illustrated with photographs of conference sessions, discussion groups, speakers, etc.

Crime Fighters

San Jose, California, has a police advisory committee, a group of public-spirited citizens aiding the police department in dealing with the social aspects of crime prevention work. It is composed of sixteen members selected by the city manager and the police chief, with thirteen more chosen by the committee. Main objectives, according to the International City Managers' Association, are to foster a closer relationship between the police department and the citizenry, to stimulate interest in public education programs, to pool pertinent factual information, to convey to the public information on measures taken by the department to control vice and criminal activity, and to act in a consultative capacity on policies suggested by the administration. During its first year, the committee has instituted an educational program to prevent shoplifting, a bicycle safety program, and an educational program on drug addiction for both adults and high school students.

Civic Assembly

The City Club of Chicago reports that its City Club Civic Assembly, held April 19, was a notable success. "It brought together dynamic civic leaders," says the *City Club Bulletin*. "It reviewed the major objectives for Chicagoland." U. S. Senator Paul Douglas addressed the group.

Annual Meetings

Richardson Dilworth, district attorney of Philadelphia, was the principal speaker at the annual banquet of

the Massachusetts Civic League held April 22 in Boston.

At the annual dinner of the League of Women Voters of Somerset Hills, New Jersey, a panel discussion on "Legislative Procedures" was conducted by State Senator Malcolm S. Forbes, Assemblyman Anderson Fowler, John E. Bebout, assistant secretary of the National Municipal League, and Mrs. Donald van Dyke, state LWV legislative chairman.

Potpourri

Reader's Digest hails the work of the New Boston Committee in a story by T. E. Murphy in its April issue. The article points out that largely through the work of the committee Boston "has made an about-face from political misrule and has begun to march resolutely toward better government."...

The Citizens League of Greater Cleveland reports that in four weeks 213 new members joined as a result of a special drive. League membership as of the first of the year was 3,357; aim of the membership committee is 4,000 by the end of this year.

The Phoenix Chamber of Commerce is circulating pamphlets to "Phoenix Citizens Living Outside the City Limits," listing the advantages to be gained through annexation. Included are *An Invitation to Become a Part of the City of Phoenix*, *It Will Pay You to Come on In*, and *Facts on City Expansion*. . . .

"Representatives of seventeen neighborhood improvement associations and other groups have enrolled in the neighborhood planning course jointly sponsored by the Citizens' Council and Purdue University Center," reports the *News Letter* of the Fort Wayne, Indiana, Citizens Civic Association. . . . With the publication of its February 1952 issue, the *Civic News* of the East Detroit Civic League celebrated

its second anniversary. The issue carries congratulatory letters from public officials, including U. S. Senators Blair Moody, Estes Kefauver and Homer Ferguson, and persons prominent in the civic field. . . .

The Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund has set aside funds for the conduct of a study of metropolitan areas. The Metropolitan Area Project, as it has been named, is under the direction of Miss Anna Lord Strauss, chairman, and Mrs. Harold Dyke, vice chairman. Philadelphia is scheduled as the first city where basic data will be gathered. . . .

The South Bend Civic Planning Association has mailed questionnaires to candidates for state legislative and county offices, seeking data on qualifications and comments on current issues. The association has published the fourth edition of its *Civic Cinema*, which describes the working of the city government, lists city and county officials, salary data, public expenditures, etc. A chart of the city government is portrayed. . . .

The Dedham (Massachusetts) Committee for Civic Progress, which recently failed in its campaign for a town manager charter, is already making plans for its 1953 charter drive. This year it will conduct an all-out membership drive to secure the interest of as many voters as possible. A goal of at least 4,000 members has been set.

The Citizens Plan E Association of Worcester, Massachusetts, has held a number of "locality" meetings to which residents of the area, as well as city councilmen and school committee members, were invited. Discussion centered around the needs of the locality. . . . The Board of Directors of the Medford Plan E Civic Association has decided to issue quarterly reports to members on city problems.

Researcher's Digest *Edited by John E. Bebout*

How to Stretch Research Dollar

Long Day in a Local Bureau Shows Wide Range of Service

Condensed from the log of a day's work in the office of the Dade County Research Foundation, of Miami, sent by Executive Director John Willmott to his members.

IT COSTS \$31,000 a year—\$122 per working day—to run the bureau. Here's what we did with it one day.

Assistant director opened office at 7:30. Executive director arrived at 8. From 8 to 9 reviewed recent governmental happenings and listed things to be done. Went over city manager-assistant manager situation and our pending report on this subject.

Discussed the runaround we got—as usual—when we requested a copy of the tentative school budget. Figured out a way to get the budget, despite the iron curtain.

Made plans for officers and executive committee to have lunch with Walter Blucher, executive director of the American Society of Planning Officials. Walter has read all our planning reports and knows local situation thoroughly.

At 9 o'clock the mail, which included three checks from new members, was brought in. Membership committee has secured 32 new members so far this year; more on the way.

From 9 o'clock on, shop filled with customers. Miss A of WXYZ wanted information on duties, terms and salaries of offices involved in primary election. Gave her complete data which she will use on her radio program. Mrs. B called for information on city charter revision to be used on her citizens action radio program.

Called Miss C of the Chamber of Commerce regarding the women's division's meeting on county planning. Gave her summary of our observations and suggested some pointed questions which might be put to Utopia-claiming officials: Why salaries to planning board members? Why no planning expert? Why no five-year financial plan for public improvement? Why are citizens denied free access to planning board meetings and minutes? Why the attempt to keep public records from the public?

Miss D, also of the women's division, called to discuss recent school developments.

Called county budget officer to see how county budget is coming along. Progress to date: almost nil, because of onerous election duties and non-adoption of the modern budget system we have been urging.

Model school bus specifications from National Education Association arrived in morning mail. Checked these with school bus supervisor. A hot controversy is raging over the purchase of school buses. This NEA report may be helpful to inquisitive school board members.

Bill F of the *News* called to ask what we're doing these days. We told him. You'll see it soon in his column. Copies of a recent column in the *Herald*, summarizing the bureau's achievements during the past five years, were mailed today to 30 membership prospects.

Took stock of the membership campaign and planned several new features. Twenty-five letters were dictated during the day, most of them to prospects.

Just before noon, bootlegged copy of the tentative school budget. Analysis shows that it doesn't state the total amount of proposed expenditures;

little itemization of prior years' expenditures.

After lunch, put the final touches on a proposal for technical assistance which we are submitting to the charter board at the request of one of its members.

Another phone call to president of the Junior Women's Club re its request for a talk on the school situation. The club is conducting an energetic, statewide campaign for adoption of our number one school recommendation.

Two university students called and arranged to use our ample library for survey of county purchasing.

Just before leaving at 6 o'clock, the director scanned this log of the day's events and noted how much time is spent on work with other civic organizations, also press, radio and TV. We can afford to do this, for these agencies cite our findings and endorse many of our recommendations. Officials don't use our stuff very much yet, but they will. Initial hostility has almost vanished. Most official contacts are now friendly. Before long, local office holders will be our biggest customers.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Airports

The County Goes in Business. The League's Prospectus of the Greater Pittsburgh Airport. Pittsburgh 19, Pennsylvania Economy League, Inc., Western Division, *P. E. L. Newsletter*, April 1952. 9 pp.

Debt

The Debt of the Louisiana State Government, 1950 and 1951. Baton Rouge, Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, *A PAR Report*, March 31, 1952. 11 pp.

Education

Independent or Dependent School

Administration. Providence 3, Governmental Research Bureau (bulletin), April 1952. 2 pp.

Needed Adjustments in the Secondary Schools. Boston 8, Municipal Research Bureau, *Bulletin*, April 29, 1952. 8 pp.

The Proposed Increase in the Schools' Tax Limit. Are There Alternatives to a School Tax Limit Increase? The School Property Tax Trend and the Tax Limit. Schenectady 5, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities*, April 15, 25 and 30, 1952. 3, 3 and 2 pp. respectively.

Salaries of U. S. Teachers—Californians Top 1949-50 List at \$4,268 Average. (Excerpts from Report of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, March 7, 1952.) Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *The Tax Digest*, April 1952. 2 pp. 25 cents.

School Maintenance—Where Do We Stand? Hartford 3, Governmental Research Institute, *Taxpayers' Business*, April 1952. 3 pp.

Survey of Houston Independent School District Finance, Services and Building Program 1952 Through 1956. Houston, Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, 1952. 79 pp.

Flood Control

Harris County Flood Control District—Narrative Functional Description. Houston, Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, 1952. 10 pp.

Intergovernmental Relations

Submission to the Committee on Provincial-Municipal Relations of the Province of Ontario. (A broad evaluation of local government operations in Ontario as affected by provincial law and administration, with 42 suggestions.) Toronto 5, Citizens Research Institute of Canada supported by the Bureau of Municipal Research of Toronto, 1952. 36 pp. \$1. (Discounts on quantity orders.)

Liability

Liability for Sidewalk Conditions and Repair Thereof. Seattle 5, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services in cooperation with the Association of Washington Cities, *Washington Municipal Bulletin*, March 1952. 14 pp.

Libraries

Problems and Activities of Small and Medium-Sized Libraries. (Proceedings of the Section on Public Library Administration, Sixteenth Annual Institute of Government, 1951.) Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services in cooperation with Division of Adult Education and Extension Services, 1952. 25 pp.

Licensing

For Better Service. New Department Making Progress Toward Goal of Centralizing Licensing and Inspecting. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business*, May 12, 1952. 3 pp.

Missouri River Basin

The Missouri River Basin, Proposals for Development. By Marvin Meade. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, 1952. 68 pp.

Municipal Government

Management Fundamentals and City Government. Statement of Harold Riegelman to The Board of Estimate on the 1952-53 Executive Budget. New York 17, Citizens Budget Commission, 1952. 45 pp.

Planning

Proposed Capital Improvements, 1952-1958. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin*, April 1, 1952. 2 pp.

Public Health

Public Health Administration in Utah. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Report*, April 1952. 4 pp.

Public Relations

The Dynamics of Community Relations. By Carl H. Walker. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Division of University Extension, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, *Tennessee Town and City*, April 1952. 5 pp.

Salaries

Police-Fire Salaries Paid By San Francisco and Seven California Cities Compared. Teacher's Salary Schedules Compared. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin*, May 15 and May 23, 1952. 1 and 2 pp. respectively.

Sewage Disposal

King County's Sewage Disposal Problem. Seattle 4, Municipal League of Seattle and King County, 1952. 6 pp.

State Government

Illinois State Government. (Organization chart designed for use as a visual aid in governmental training by schools and civic organizations.) Urbana, University of Illinois, Institute of Government and Public Affairs, 1952. 10 cents.

State Reorganization

Institutional Management. (Staff Memorandum.) **State Motor Pool** (Staff Report). Lansing, Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government, 1952. 17 and 18 pp. respectively.

Tentative Report on Study Unit No. 7—Conservation. Boston, Special Commission on the Structure of the State Government, 1951. 49 pp.

Subsidization of Industry

Industrializing Mississippi — An Analysis of the Balance Agriculture with Industry Program. By Raymond F. Wallace. University, University of Mississippi, Bureau of Public Administration, 1952. 57 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Difficulties in Making Comparison of Tax Rates. Lincoln 8, Governmental Research Institute, Inc., *Bulletin*, May, 1952. 2 pp.

Have Michigan Cities a Financial Future? By G. Keyes Page. Lansing 8, State Bar of Michigan, *State Bar Journal*, February 1952. 6 pp.

Luxury Tax Policy Needed. Atlantic City, Tax Survey Commission, May 20, 1952. 3 pp.

1952-53 State Appropriations Passed. Trenton 8, New Jersey Taxpayers Association, *It's Your Business*, April 17, 1952. 5 pp.

The Tax Burden in Relation to Utah's Economy. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Report*, May 1952. 3 pp.

Taxes! Taxes! Everybody Pays! By Burton L. Hotaling. (A series of nine articles based on extensive research, reprinted from *The Herald-News*.) Passaic, New Jersey, *The Herald-News*, 1952. 23 pp.

Tax Limit Amendments. Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, Inc., *Just a Moment*, May 29, 1952. 3 pp.

Tax Problems of Cities: Report of Section on Governmental Finance by Louis J. Kroeger; New Taxes to Get City Revenue by Louis J. Kroeger; Property Taxes and Single Tax vs. Other City Taxes by Robert Tideman; Critique on Single Tax and Increased Property Taxes by Raymond D. Smith; and Discussion from the Floor. San Francisco 19, Commonwealth Club of California. *The Commonwealth* (Part Two), January 21, 1952. 28 pp. 25 cents.

Tax Rates in Colorado Cities. Denver, Colorado Public Expenditure Council, *Colorado Taxpayer*, April 1952. 2 pp.

Total 1951 Taxes—Collections by federal, state and local governments increase, breaking record set in wartime 1945. Madison 3, Wisconsin Tax-

payers Alliance, *The Wisconsin Taxpayer*, May 1952. 8 pp.

Trend of Montana Property Taxes 1942-1951. Helena, Montana Taxpayers Association, *Montana Taxpayer*, March 1952. 2 pp.

Traffic

Between the White Lines—Philadelphia Increased Its Street-Markings Last Year; New Emphasis on Lane-Lining. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business*, April 21, 1952. 4 pp.

Enforcing Traffic Laws. Police Unit Seeks to Make Tickets Fix-proof by Using Tabulating Machine Techniques. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business*, May 19, 1952. 3 pp.

Veterans' Bonuses

Initiative Bonus Proposal Would Exclude Many Veterans While Placing Heavy Tax Load on All Veterans and the Public. Jefferson City, Missouri Public Expenditure Survey (bulletin), April 1952. 4 pp.

Water and Sewerage Systems

A Report on The Water Supply and Sewerage Systems of the City of Chicago with A Comparative Study of Certain Other American Cities. Chicago, The Civic Federation, 1952. 117 pp.

Zoning

About Town Zoning in New York State and Especially in the Poughkeepsie Area. Poughkeepsie, Area Development Association, Inc., 1952. 8 pp.

Religious, Educational, and Philanthropic Uses under Zoning. Philadelphia 4, Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, University of Pennsylvania, *Municipal Administration*, April 1952. 3 pp.

Simplified Zoning for Small Communities. Hartford, Connecticut Development Commission, Research and Planning Division, 1952. 5 pp.

Books in Review

Preparing College Men and Women for Politics. By Thomas H. Reed and Doris D. Reed. Introduction by Arthur T. Vanderbilt. New York City 3, New York University Law Center, Citizenship Clearing House, 1952. x, 180 pp.

This new study by the Reeds, like their 1950 *Evaluation of Citizenship Training and Incentive in American Colleges and Universities*, owes its existence to the long interest maintained by Chief Justice Arthur Vanderbilt of New Jersey, in attracting college men and women to politics. In form, it is a report to the Citizenship Clearing House, which Justice Vanderbilt established at New York University when he was dean of the law school. The travel, correspondence and other expenses necessary for the preparation of this book were defrayed by a grant from the Falk Foundation.

The Reeds visited a large number of colleges and universities, talked to students and instructors, studied course outlines, read assignments and sat in on classes. As a result of their experience they view very coolly the integrated courses in the social sciences, now common, which "actually threaten the slender attention which has been paid up to this time to training for participation in politics." They would prefer a full-year course in American government for all students and a course not burdened with detail but instead sufficiently interesting so that the student would be given "launching speed." They would like to see more colleges offering courses in political parties, more internships in Washington, more student participation in practical politics.

The authors were, they say, "appalled by the dullness, general ignorance and lack of specific preparation displayed by many of the teachers" whose classes they visited. They at-

tribute the bad teaching in part to "the low salaries and meager rewards for ambition in the teaching field." But for the teacher of a course in politics they seek "in addition to his normal academic training, experience with or in politics. . . . The teacher whose knowledge of politics is all derived from books is greatly handicapped in giving students not only a knowledge of the principles of political organization, but the 'feel' of how they actually work." How such paragons are to be obtained and retained at present salaries they cannot predict. What is even worse, "in many institutions there is opposition on the part of deans, presidents and trustees, to the young [or old] teacher taking an active part in politics."

The Reeds, in this careful study, have examined realistically the college scene. They recognize not only what needs doing but who or what stands in the way of doing it. Their proposals would require more sweeping changes than most institutions are likely to make, but the report should be widely read and pondered, especially by the advocates of general education.

DAYTON D. MCKEAN
Dartmouth College

Handbook of Practical Politics. By Paul P. Van Riper. New York City, Henry Holt and Company, 1952. x, 214 pp. \$1.95.

An exhaustive listing and description of every step a voter can go through from registering to vote and attending precinct party affairs to helping in political headquarters, promoting candidates, getting out the vote, house-to-house and telephone canvasses, etc. Party structure is well described. Enough to dismay a beginner but remarkably comprehensive and suggestive for anybody.

Building Citizenship. By R. O. Hughes. Boston, Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1952. xvi, 654 pp. \$3.20.

This volume is a profusely illustrated and comprehensive survey of what young American citizens must learn to do not only in relation to government at all its levels but in economics, business and professions. Choices of occupation and living standards and proprieties are listed (diversify your investments!) and the usefulness of the weather bureau. Mildly inspirational and, at moments, preachy but undoubtedly illuminating to high school students of civics for whom it seems highly suitable.

California's Non-Partisanship—Extend? Extinguish?: Report of Section on Legislation and Elections by Herbert Hanley; Abolish Cross-Filing! by Roger Kent; Retain Cross-Filing! by Mrs. Mildred Prince, and Discussion from the Floor. San Francisco 19, Commonwealth Club of California, *The Commonwealth*, Part 2, February 25, 1952. 20 pp. 25 cents.

An interesting condensation of a series of competent, well informed debates covering California's unique cross-filing nomination procedures whereby candidates can and frequently do run in both the Democratic and Republican primaries.

A useful contribution to one phase of the whole direct primary subject as set forth in the National Municipal League's *Model Direct Primary Election System*.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Air Pollution

Air Pollution Abatement Manual. A Bibliography. Washington 5, D. C., Manufacturing Chemists' Association, Inc., 1952. 57 pp.

Air Pollution. Proceedings of the United States Technical Conference on Air Pollution. Sponsored by the Interdepartmental Committee on Air Pollution, Louis C. McCabe, Chairman. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1952. xiv, 847 pp. \$12.50.

Second Technical and Administrative Report on Air Pollution Control in Los Angeles County 1950-1951. Los Angeles, County Air Pollution Control District, 1951. 51 pp.

Civil Rights

Equality by Statute. Legal Controls Over Group Discrimination. By Morroe Berger. Foreword by Robert M. McIver. New York City, Columbia University Press, 1952. 238 pp. \$3.25.

States' Laws on Race and Color and Appendices. Containing International Documents, Federal Laws and Regulations, Local Ordinances and Charts. Compiled and edited by Pauli Murray. New York 10, American Civil Liberties Union, 1951. x, 746 pp. \$4.

Civil Service

The Unfinished Business of Civil Service Reform. By William Seal Carpenter. Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1952. 128 pp. \$3.

(For Dr. Carpenter's article composed of excerpts from this volume, see page 339, this issue.)

Cleanup Campaigns

Operation 'Spring Cleaning.' By (Porter) Cliff Greenwood. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, *Tennessee Town and City*, March 1952. 5 pp.

Constitutions

Constitutions and Constitutional Trends Since World War II. An Examination of Significant Aspects of Postwar Public Law with Particular Reference to the New Constitutions of Western Europe. Edited by Arnold J. Zurcher. New York City, New York

University Press, 1951. viii, 351 pp. \$5.

Debt

Monetary Policy and the Management of the Public Debt. By H. Christian Sonne. Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Association, 1952. 23 pp.

Two Decades of Public Debt. Princeton, N. J., Tax Institute, *Tax Policy*, April 1952. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Disaster Preparedness

Experience in Disaster Financing—Kansas City, Missouri, by Rollin F. Agard and Leslie H. Creel; **Reserve Fund for Hurricane Expense,** by E. B. Poorman; **From Disaster—A Bigger and Better City,** by Kenneth T. Nunn; etc. (A series of eight articles on disaster preparedness and financing.) Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, *Municipal Finance*, May 1952. 32 pp. 50 cents.

Education

A Look Into Your Public Schools—East Orange, New Jersey. A Report for the Year 1950-51. East Orange, New Jersey, The Board of Education, 1952. 35 pp.

Housing

A Proposed Housing Ordinance. Regulating Supplied Facilities, Maintenance and Occupancy of Dwellings and Dwelling Units. By Committee on the Hygiene of Housing. New York 19, American Public Health Association, 1952. xviii, 24 pp.

Land Use

Urban Land Use and Property Taxation. By Max S. Wehrly and J. Ross McKeever. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, 1952. 28 pp. \$2.50.

Legislation

Digest of 1952 Laws Affecting Towns. Albany, Association of Towns of the State of New York, 1952. 44 pp.

Laws Passed by the 1951 Penn-

sylvania General Assembly Affecting Local Government. By Thelma J. Showalter and Paul E. Kilmeyer II. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs, Bureau of Municipal Affairs, 1952. 30 pp.

Legislatures

Kentucky's General Assembly—A Working Legislature. Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, 1952. 8 pp. illus.

Municipal Government

A Bibliography for Municipal Clerks. Key Publications for a Key Official. Chicago 37, National Institute of Municipal Clerks, 1952. 16 pp. \$2.

Natural Resources

The Future of Our Natural Resources. Edited by Stephen Raushenbush. Philadelphia, *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, May 1952. 275 pp. \$2.

Permanent Registration

Permanent Registration for Voting in Minnesota. Minneapolis 14, League of Minnesota Municipalities, Municipal Reference Bureau, Information Service, 1952. 5 pp.

Planning

American Planning and Civic Annual. A record of Recent Civic Advance in the Fields of Planning, Parks, Housing, Neighborhood Improvement and Conservation of Natural Resources, including addresses at the National Citizens Conference on Planning and Resources, Miami, Florida, April 11-15, 1951, and the Roll Call of the States at the 31st Annual Meeting of the National Conference on State Parks, Lake Hope State Park, Zaleski, Ohio, October 8-12, 1951. Edited by Harlean James. Washington 5, D. C., American Planning and Civic Association, 1952. ix, 150 pp. \$2.

Comparative Digest of the Principal Provisions of State Planning Laws Relating to Housing, Slum Clearance

and Urban Redevelopment as of January 1, 1951. By Housing and Home Finance Agency, Office of the Administrator, Division of Law. Washington 25, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1952. 80 pp. 55 cents.

'51 Accomplishments, '52 Problems and Opportunities. Annual Report. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Planning Board, 1952. 12 pp.

Public Health

Your Neighbor's Health Is Your Business. By Albert Q. Maisel. (Sponsored by National Health Council, New York City.) New York, Public Affairs Committee, 1952. 32 pp. 25 cents. (Discounts on quantity orders.)

Public Relations

Measuring Your Public Relations. By Herman D. Stein. New York 10, National Publicity Council, 1952. 48 pp. \$1.25.

Public Welfare

Community Planning for Human Services. By Bradley Buell and Associates. New York City, Columbia University Press, 1952. xiv, 464 pp. \$5.50.

Recreation

Not Yet Too Late. A Study of Public Recreation and Needed Recreation Lands in the Chattanooga-Hamilton County Area. By Charles L. Crangle and Louis F. Twardzik. Nashville 3, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1952. 36 pp. maps, illus. 50 cents.

Rent Control

Report on Rent Control. By Joseph D. McGoldrick. New York City, Temporary State Housing Rent Commission of the State of New York, 1952. 119 pp.

Social Security

The MFOA Policy on Social Security Coverage for Public Employees. History and Background of MFOA participation in problem. Events and conditions leading to present policy. Recent developments on the subject.

Status of local retirement plans. Possible future action. By A. A. Weinberg. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association, 1952. 6 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Local Tax Legislation. Princeton, New Jersey, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy*, February-March 1952. 16 pp. 50 cents.

Standards and Requirements for Permanent Tax Record Systems. As Adopted by the Committee of Ten Established under Provisions of Act 594, Session of 1951. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, The Committee, 1952. 22 pp.

A Survey of Municipal Finances and Operations in the City of Morgantown. By the Municipal Planning Commission. Morgantown, West Virginia, City Manager's Office, 1952. 80 pp. Charts.

Tax Institute Activities in 1950 and 1951. Princeton, New Jersey, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy*, January 1952. 10 pp. 25 cents.

Toll Highways

Toll Roads for Tennessee. An Informational Report. By Harold V. Miller, Margaret K. Pouder and Albert Harlan Mathews. Nashville, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1952. 20 pp.

Traffic Safety

Accident Investigation: Measurements and Diagrams; Some Useful Clues; Traffic Accidents—What They Are; What It Is and Why It Is Important. Evanston, Illinois, Northwestern University, 1952. 40, 16, 14 and 15 pp. respectively. 50, 25, 25 and 25 cents each. (Discounts on quantity orders.)

Traffic Training

Driver Education for Adults. New York City, New York University, Division of General Education, Center for Safety Education, 1952. 16 pp.

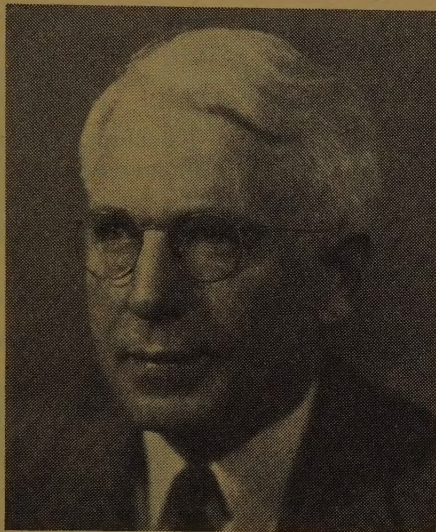
Training Program 1952. Evanston, University of Illinois, Traffic Institute, 1952. 30 pp.

Houston Failed John N. Edy

Back in 1943 a majority of the citizens of Houston decided it was time for a change in the City Hall. That we wanted greater efficiency in city government, a city administration that could run the city without fear or favor," one that could conduct public business like the business of the mammoth corporation it is.

This was the thinking that led to the adoption of the city manager form of government. And, as the first city manager, John N. Edy, the foremost municipal government expert in the country, was hired. Mr. Edy brought to his job brilliance, administrative ability of high order and years of experience as city manager of other communities in California, Ohio, Michigan and Texas. City Manager Edy gave us good, sound, honest city government. Even opponents of the city manager form of government conceded that. Mr. Edy lived up to the line of business practices and held aloof from politics. His business was government and he did the job.

That is, as long as we permitted him



John N. Edy

to do it. Which wasn't long. The sniping began. The "outs" — meaning those who make a business of politics — wanted back in, of course. Road-block after road-block was thrown in Mr. Edy's way. This he couldn't take and maintain his integrity. He resigned.

The Houston experience probably wasn't the first disillusionment of John Edy. The

same things had happened in other cities. So it is understandable that he retired from the municipal management field and entered private business.

It is regrettable that Houston didn't prove worthy of the talents of Mr. Edy, that, after the "honeymoon" period of reform was over, we, the people, allowed the "outs" to snipe their way back in.

We owe a debt to Mr. Edy for giving us good government for a period of two years. Mr. Edy, now dead, will be remembered as a man who made a great success of the city manager form of government in Houston as long as we would permit it.

(Houston Press, Editorial, May 12, 1952)

Charles Taft Cited for Civic Leadership



Charles P. Taft

Charles P. Taft, for 30 years a prominent civic leader in Cincinnati, received a Doctor of Laws degree from Yale University in June in recognition of his work in religious, political and educational

fields.

The citation, noting that Mr. Taft was graduated from Yale College with the class of 1918 and from Yale School of Law in 1921, read:

"Lay leader of the Protestant faith, you have sought Christian solutions for economic and political problems. Recognizing that improvement of national politics must begin with local politics, you became a leading exponent of the council-manager plan and helped to make the experiment in your home city of Cincinnati the model for a thousand cities."

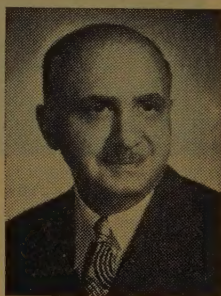
Mr. Taft, currently a regional vice president of the National Municipal League, has been closely associated with the League's leadership for many years as a member of its governing Council and in other capacities.

San Antonio to Mexico by Rail

The National Railways of Mexico offer delegates to the League's conference a nine-day tour of Mexico at the following rates from San Antonio: coach seat, \$124.94, lower berth \$167.74; upper berth \$161.23; corre-

sponding rates for compartments or drawing rooms for two or three persons. Included are transportation, hotels, meals and sightseeing, except meals on train and tips. The itinerary includes Mexico City, Cuernavaca, Tasco, Puebla, Cholula, Shrine of Guadalupe, Pyramids, and other places of interest. Write National Railway of Mexico, 2401 Transit Tower, San Antonio 5, or your local travel agent.

Kaplan Quits State for Consultant Field



H. Eliot Kaplan

H. Eliot Kaplan, who has been in charge of the New York State Employees Retirement System for the last three years, has resigned as deputy state comptroller to enter private law practice and to

serve as a consultant in public and industrial pension administration and in civil service problems.

Mr. Kaplan, who for many years was secretary of the National Civil Service League before entering state service at the request of Lieutenant Governor Frank C. Moore, then state comptroller, has served on many committees of the National Municipal League and as chief draftsman of the "Model State Civil Service Law" and other documents of which NML and NCSL collaborated.

Governor Thomas E. Dewey, expressing regret over Mr. Kaplan's resignation, said he had made "valuable contributions to the cause of good government and to the public benefit."